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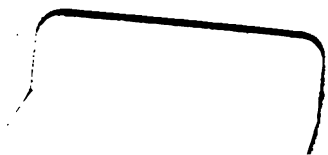
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copy 1.

*ACK
New

Harrison's Description of England.

A.D. 1577—1587.



THE SECOND AND THIRD BOOKS.



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Spittle feyldes.

Bowlp

Aldgate.

East Smithfeild

St. Dunstons

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S. Towleyes

fluvius

Custom house

The towne

S. Katherynes

20

21



2. See to the 1. 1.

Harrison's
Description of England
IN
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH.

BEING
THE SECOND AND THIRD BOOKS
OF HIS
Description of Britaine and England.

EDITED FROM THE
FIRST TWO EDITIONS OF HOLINSHED'S *CHRONICLE*, A.D. 1577, 1587.

BY
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,
FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF *THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY*, &c.

PART I. THE SECOND BOOK,
—
WITH
EXTRACTS FROM THE AUTOGRAPH MS OF HARRISON'S *CHRONOLOGIE*,
AND FROM FOREIGN WRITERS ON ENGLAND;

ALSO WITH
NORDEN'S MAP OF LONDON, 1593, AND NOTES ON IT BY
HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

PUBLISHT FOR
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1897

FOREWORDS TO PART I.

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§ 1. As a general rule, till a book is complete, no Forewords to it should appear. But, tho' only half of the present book is in this Part I, I am unwilling to send out this *Harrison*, the friend of some twenty years' standing, without a few words of introduction to those readers who don't know it.

The book is full of interest, not only to every Shakspeare student, but to every reader of English history, every man who has the least care for his forefathers' lives. And, though it does contain sheets of padding now and then,¹ yet the writer's racy phrases are continually turning up, and giving flavour to his descriptions, while he sets before us the very England of Shakspeare's day. From its Parliament and Universities, to its beggars and its rogues; from its castles to its huts, its horses to its hens; from how the state was managd, to how Mrs Wm Harrison (and no doubt Mrs William Shakspeare²) brewd her beer; all is there. The book is a deliberately drawn picture of Elizabethan England; and nothing could have kept it from being often reprinted and a thousand times more widely known

¹ Perhaps the worst instance is Chapter 21, 'Of Waters generallie,' p. 332.

² You are shown the foundations of the brew-house, at New Place, Stratford.

than it is, except the long and dull historical and topographical Book I,—*The Description of Britaine*—set before the interesting account in Books II¹ and III, of the England under Harrison's eyes in 1577-87. Because this Book I is so dull, I have left it out, though I shall print from it, as a kind of Appendix to Bk III, Chapters 18, 19, 20, 24, 'Of the aire, soile, and commodities of this Iland; Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Ilande; Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons; Of the maruels of England;' with a few other extracts, in these Forewords and elsewhere.

§ 2. How Harrison came to write his book² was on this wise. Reginald Wolfe, the Printer to Queen Elizabeth, meant to publish "a universall Cosmographie of the whole world,³ and therewith also certaine particular histories of every knowne nation." For the Historical part of the work, he engagd Raphael Holinshed, among other men; and when the work was nearly done, Wolfe died, after twenty-five years' labour at his scheme. Then the men who were to have borne the cost of printing the Universall Cosmographie, were afraid to face the expense of the whole work, and resolvd to do only so much of it as related to England, Scotland, and Ireland.⁴

¹ Chapters 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 21 of Book II are dullish.

² Who 'll write a like one for Victorian England? Oh that we had one for Chaucer's England!

³ The Elizabethan sweep in this, as in so many other plans of the day.

⁴ See Holinshed's Dedication to Lord Burghley in vol. iii. of his *Chronicle*:

"I haue thought good to aduertise your Honour, by what occasion I was first inducd to vndertake the same, although the cause that moued me thereto hath (in part) yer this beene signified vnto your good Lordship. Whereas therefore, that worthie Citizen *Reginald Wolfe*, late Printer to the Queenes Maiestie, a man well known and beholden to your Honour, meant in his life time to publish an vniuersall Cosmographie of the whole world, and therewith also certaine particular histories of euery knowne nation, amongst other whom he purposed to vse for performance of his intent in that behalfe, he procured me to take in hand the collection of those histories; and hauing proceeded so far in the same, as little wanted to the accomplishment of that long promised worke, it pleased God to call him to his mercie, after fūe and twentie yeares trauell spent therein; so that by his vntimelie deceasse, no hope remained to see that performed, which we had so long trauelled about. Neuerthelesse, those whom he put in trust to dispose his things after his departure hence, wishing to the benefit of others, that some fruit might follow of that whereabout he had imployed so long time, willed me to continue mine endeouour for their furtherance in the same. Which, although I was redie to doo, so far as mine abilitie would reach, and the rather to answer that trust which the decessed reposed in me, to see it brought to some perfection; yet when the volume grew so great, as they that were to defraie the charges for the impression, were not willing to go through with the whole, they resolved

Holinshed having the History of these countries in hand, application was made to Harrison, who had long been compiling a *Chronologie*¹ of his own, to furnish the Descriptions of Britain and first to publish the histories of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their descriptions; which descriptions, because they were not in such readinesse as those of forren countries, they were enforced to vse the helpe of other better able to doo it than my selfe."

Wolfe also had Maps of the English counties; but as they were poor ones, 'maister Thomas Sackford' got, and drew or had drawn, new 'Charts of the seuerall prouinces of this realme;' but unluckily they were never publisht.

¹ William Harrison's *Chronologie* is mentiond on the last leaf of the Preface to vol. iii. of *Holinshed*, p. 1, at foot,—

"For the computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maister Wolfes aduise followed *Functius*; but after his [Wolfe's] decesse, M. W[illiam] H[ar]rison made me partaker of a *Chronologie*, which he had gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence, following *Gerardus Mercator*, and other late chronologers, and his owne obseruations, according to the which I haue reformed the same."—Holinshed, in the Preface to his *Chronicles*, vol. iii. sign. A 4, ed. 1587,—

and in his *Description*, p. 70, 357 below, "I haue reserued them vnto the publication of my great *Chronologie*, if (while I liue) it happen to come abroad." II. ii. end, p. 70. It was never publisht. My search for the MS. of it results in my having just received (Aug. 28) its large folio vols. 2, 3, 4, from the Diocesan Library of Derry, in Ireland. The Rev. H. Cotton, *Thurles, Ireland*, (Dec. 21, 1850,) said where it was, in I *Notes and Queries*, iii. 105, col. 2; and after two fruitless searches it was found, and lent me by the Bishop, through his Librarian, the Rev. B. Moffett of Foyle College, Londonderry, as well as a curious and terribly-corrected MS. of an English work on Weights and Measures, Hebrew, Greek, English, &c., dated 1587, which must be Harrison's too.

The 3 folio volumes of the *Chronologie* are 8 inches deep as they lie, each being 10½ inches broad, by 17½ high, with 73, and sometimes more, lines to a page. An enormous amount of work is in them, and all of them are in Harrison's own hand, at different times of his life. Vol. 2, "The second part of the English Chronologye written by Wm Harrison," runs from the Creation to Christ's birth. Vol. 3, "The third part of the Chronology containing a just & perfite true &c. as followeth in the next Leafe, to thend of the title, & to be brought hether [see *Appendix I.*]," stretches from the birth of Christ to William the Norman's Conquest of England. Vol. 4, "The iiijth and Last part of the great English Chronology written By Wm H.," [title in another hand?] goes from the beginning of William the Conqueror's reign, Oct. 14, 1066, to the February of 1592-3, only two months before Harrison's own death (or burial) on April 24, 1593. And each volume tells, in Chronicle fashion, what went on all over the world in each successive year, so far as Harrison knew. The contemporary part of vol. 4 is of course the most interesting; and from it I shall make a few extracts in Appendix I. to these *Forewords*, as there's no room here, in the gap left by the print of Mr Moffett's first letter saying the MSS. could not be found.

'A William Harrison wrote some Latin lines on the deaths of the Brandons, Dukes of Suffolk, printed with the collection published on that occasion, 4to, London, 1552.'

England. He was then Household Chaplain to the well-known Sir William Brooke, Lord Cobham (so praised by Francis Thynne¹), and was staying in London, away from his rectory of Radwinter in Essex, and his Library there.² He had also travelld little himself. As he honestly tells Lord Cobham,³

"I must needs confesse, that vntill now of late, except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40 miles forthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuerthelesse, in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who either haue performed in their persons, or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before) whatsoever is wanting in mine."

Still, mainly by the help of Leland⁴—"and hitherto Leland, whose words I dare not alter," p. 69, col. i, l. 57, ed. 1587, of the Severn,—as well as of 'letters and pamphlets from sundrie places & shires of England,' and 'by conference with diuers folk⁵,' and 'by mine owne reading⁶,' together with Master Sackford's charts or Maps⁷, Harri-

¹ Holinshed, iii. 1499; extract in my edition of Thynne's *Animadversions*, 1875, p. lxxxv.

² See his Dedication to Lord Cobham, below, p. cix

³ In his account of the rivers, &c., Harrison sometimes quotes other people in the first person, 'I, we,' as if he had himself been to the places they describe.

⁴ Folio Harrison, p. 103, col. 2, ed. 1587. After he has described the course of the Granta from its head, he goes on,—"it runneth to Horningseie, & Water Bech, and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and so forth into the Ouze, fiteene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath set downe. And thus much of the third Isis or Ouze, out of the aforesaid author⁸; *wherunto I haue not onelie added somewhat of mine owne experience*, but also of other mens notes, whose diligent observation of the course of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the description of the same."

⁵ Folio Harrison, p. 107, col. 2. (ed. 1587):

"Thus haue I finished the description of such riuers and streames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpose, although not in so precise an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promised had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I saie of that which is here done, that from the Solueie by west, which parteth England & Scotland on that side, to the Twede which separateth the said kingdoms on the east, if you go backward, contrarie to the course of my description, you shall find it so exact, as beside a verie few by-riuers, you shall not need to vse anie further aduise for the finding and falles of the aforesaid streames. *For such hath bene my helpe of maister Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about these*, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I have also to remember, that in the courses of our streames, I regard not so much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I saie it goeth by such a towne, I thinke my dutie discharged, if I hit

⁸ i.e. Leland, who calls the Ouze the third Isis.

son—notwithstanding the failure of his correspondents¹ and the loss of part of his material—‘scambled up,’ what he depreciatingly calls ‘this foule frizeled Treatise of mine,’ to ‘stand in lieu of a description of my Countre.’ But, he says, ‘howsoever it be done, & whatsoever I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things.’ And this merit, I think every reader will allow Harrison. Though he

vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This also hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages; of which I haue noted some one man, in the description of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to choose one (at adventure most commonlie) that seemed the likeliest to be sound in mine opinion and iudgement.

“Finallie, whereas I minded to set downe an especiall chapter of ports and creeks, lieng on ech coast of the English part of this Ile, and had provided the same in such wise as I iudged most convenient, it came to passe, that *the greater part of my labur was taken from me by stealth*, and therefore as discouraged to meddle with that argument, I would have giuen ouer to set downe anie thing thereof at all, and so much the rather, for that I see it may prooue a spurre vnto further mischeefe, as things come to passe in these daies. Nevertheless because a title thereof is passed in the beginning of the booke, I will deliuer that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the supplie of the rest either to my selfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to some other that can better performe the same.

“Againe, vnderstanding of the great charges & notable enterprise of that worthie gentleman *maister Thomas Sackford, in procuring the Charts of the seuerall provinces of this realme to be set forth, we are in hope that in time he will delineate this whole land so perfectlie.*” &c.—R. Holinshed's *Epist. Dedicatory*, p. 2.

¹ He complains of help promist, and never given: see in the folio Harrison, p. 45, col. 1 (beginning of cap. 11, Book I. about the Thames):—

“Having (as you [Lord Cobham] haue scene) attempted to set downe a full discourse of all the Ilands, that are situat upon the coast of Britaine, and finding the successe not correspondent to mine intent, it has caused me some what to re-streine my purpose in this description also of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the first to haue written at large, of the number situation names quantities townes villages castles mountaines fresh waters plashe or lakes, salt waters, and other commodities of the aforesaid Iles, *mine expectation of information from all parts of England was so decciued in the end, that I was faine at last onlie to leane to that which I knew my selfe either by reading, or such other helpe as I had already purchased and gotten of the same.* And even so it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whose heads, courses, length, bredth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect description under the report also of an imagined course taken by them all. *But now for want of instruction, which hath bene largelie promised, & slacklie perfourmed, and other sudden and iniurious deniall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occasion giuen on my part,* I must needs content my selfe with such observations as I haue either obtained by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full discourse of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in steed of the same, a mangled rehearsall of the residue set downe and left in memorie.”

swallowd too easily some of the stories told in old chronicles,¹ &c., though (in his 2nd ed. only) he put Chertsey above, instead of below, Staines, on the Thames,² &c., yet in all the interesting home-life part, he evidently gives both sides of the case, 'speaks of it as it was; nothing extenuates, nor sets down aught in malice' (*Oth.*, V. ii. 341). When he tells with pride, on the one hand, of the grand new buildings and the many chimnies put up in his day; on the other hand, he brings in the grumble, p. 337-8,

"And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie, through Persian delicacie crept in among vs, altogether of straw, which is a sore alteration."

Desire of much wealth and ease abateth manhood, & overthroweth a manlie courage.

"Now haue we manie chimnies; and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poses. Then had we none but reredosses; and our heads did neuer ake. For as the smoke in those daies was supposed to be a sufficient hardning for the timber of the house, so it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the good-man and his familie from the quacke or pose, wherewith, as then, verie few were oft acquainted."

—when he describes the beauty, virtue, learning, and housewifery, of Queen Elizabeth's Maids of Honour, p. 271, he yet acknowledges that as the men

"our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men, when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of."

Even the Papist Monks,³ whom—as a marriid Protestant parson and vicar,—he hates, he praises for their buildings, p. 261. And when he does abuse or chaff heartily any absurdity, like Englishmen's dress,—“except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised as are my countrie men of England,” p. 168,—we may

¹ Still you get his side-note—I suppose 'tis his—at p. 254 below, on the report of two old British books being found in a stone wall at Verolamium, “*This soundeth like a lie.*” Other bits of wholesome doubt turn up elsewhere.

² The Thames “hieth to Sudlington, otherwise called Maidenhead, and so to Windleshore (or Windsore), Eaton, and then to Chertseie. . . From Chertseie it hasteth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other streame by the waie, called the Cole (wherevpon Colbrooke standeth) it goeth by Kingstone, Shene, Sion, and Brentford or Bregentford” . . . Bk I. p. 46, col. 1, l. 30, vol. i., folio ed. 1587.

³ Still, I find it very hard that he spoke so harshly of Andrew Boorde, p. 168.

be sure it was deservd ; Shakspeare does it too¹ (*Merchant*, I. ii. 80 ; *Much Ado*, III. ii. 36, &c.).

Harrison's book will inform and amuse the reader, but the padding from old histories, &c., may well be skipt.

Besides writing the *Descriptions of Britaine and England* for Holinshed's *Chronicle*, William Harrison also translated for it, from Scotch into English, Archdeacon Bellenden's version of Hector Boetius's Latin Description of Scotland. This work took him only 'three or foure daies' he says : "Indeed, the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my translation vnto his [Bellenden's] letter." Harrison dedicated this translation—the *Description of Scotland*—to the Maister Sackford or Secford, whose 'cards,' charts, or Maps, had been of such use to him in his account of the English rivers in his *Description of Britaine* :—

To the Right worshipfull Maister Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this present, and in the world to come, life everlasting.

Having by your singular curtesie receiued great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are, by your infinite charges, alreadie finished (as the rest shall be in time by God's helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this Iland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by Leland our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not devise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many), than to shew some token of my thankfulness for these your manifold kindnesses, by the dedication of my simple translation of 'the description of Scotland' at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, bicause I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoever it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake ; & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth

¹ Harrison doesn't scold the women for painting their faces and wearing false hair, in the persistent way that Shakspeare does. These two bits of falseness (in town women only?) evidently made a great impression on the country-bred Shakspeare's mind. Stubbes complained bitterly of them too.

Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, onlie with the losse of three or four daies, to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours), than with more expense of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie, if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in¹ Latine, the skillfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiouslie *John Bellenden*, archdeacon of Murrey, his interpreter, hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore, sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his cuntrymen in their naturall language, why should not we borow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or hear the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelie soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo daillie call from things of so small importance. Almighty God keepe your worship from time to time in his feare, and blesse you, and my good ladie your wife, with such increase of his benefits, as may most redound to his glorie, & your own advantage.

The title is as follows:—

The Description of Scotland, written at the first by Hector Boetius in Latine, and afterward translated into the Scotish speech by John Bellenden Archdeacon of Murrey, and now finallie into English by R. H.²

§ 3. Happily for us, William Harrison was not one of those dignified prigs who are afraid of writing about themselves in their books. He tells us that he was born in London³ (p. vi above, xxxiii below, &c.; "I will remember the fame of London my natiue citie," p. 65-6).⁴

¹ in the: 1577 ed.

² A mistake for W. H. Raphael Holinshed compiled the *History of Scotland*.

³ "Before the earliest date of Parish Registers (1538). I have all the Marriage Licences issued by the Bishop of London, beginning as early as 1521; but they do not include that of Harrison's father."—J. L. CHESTER.

⁴ As Harrison left by his will 20s. to the poor of St Thomas the Apostle in London, Col. Chester thinks he may have been born in that parish.

P.S. Aug. 31. I've just found in Harrison's MS. *Chronologie*, under 1534, "The Author of this boke is borne, vpon y^e 18 of Aprill, hora 11, minut 4, Secunde 56, at London, in Cordwainer streete, otherwise called bowe lane in y^e [crossed thro'] house next to y^e holly lambe towards chepeside, & in y^e parish of St Thomas the Apostle."

Also (p. li) that he was first at St Paul's school, and then (p. 83,) at "Westminster¹ school (in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father, master Nowell, now deane of Paules)." And again at p. 68, of the Deans of the see of London (or St Paul's), "I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old master now liuing in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the least ornaments² that haue beene in that seat." He was at both universities.³ When speaking of Cambridge and Oxford, he says, p. 75-6—

"In all other things there is so great equalitie betweene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in

¹ Dr Scott, the present Head-Master, tells me that the early registers are not. "My dear Sir,—I regret to say that no early records of Westminster School are known to be in existence anywhere, except the names of those admitted to the Foundation, and even these merely from an old 'Buttery Book' in the earliest times, to which Noel belongs; only those who were elected to Ch. Ch. or Trinity are recorded. There is no trace of such a name as Harrison. I have done my best to hunt up old records, but with very small result.—Faithfully yours, CHAS. B. SCOTT."

After Harrison's days, Dean Goodman gave the School for a time a Sanatorium at Chiswick:—"Cherwicke, H. 14, belonging to a prebend of Paules now in the handes of Doctor Goodman, Deane of Westminster, where he hath a faire house, whereunto (in the time of any common plague or sicknes, as also to take the aire), he withdraweth the schollers of the colledge of Westminster." 1596. Jn. Norden's *Description of Middlesex*, p. 17, ed. 1723.

² Alexander Nowell was one of the most famous divines of the Reformation. Born in Lancashire about 1507, he got a fellowship at Brasenose in 1540; in 1543 became second master of Westminster School; and in 1551 Prebendary of Westminster. He was elected M.P. for Looe in Cornwall, in the first Parliament of Queen Mary, but his election was voided because he was a Church dignitary. He then went to Strassburg; returned on the accession of Elizabeth, and was made Dean of St Paul's in 1560. He published his celebrated Larger Catechism, and an abridgment of it, both in Latin, in 1570; and is supposed to have written the greater part of the Church-of-England Catechism. He was elected Master of Brasenose in 1595, and died 13 Feb. 1601-2.—Cooper.

³ Cooper, in his *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, says of Harrison, "He was a member of this university [Cambridge] in 1551, and afterwards studied at Oxford. We are unable to ascertain his house at either university." ? Merton, Oxf. see p. xvi. (There's no Merton Admission book so early as Harrison's time, the Bursar says.)

Cooper's authorities for his article on Harrison in *Ath. Cant.* are, 'Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 381. Wood's Ath. Oxon. ed. Bliss, i. 537. MS. Richardson [Cambr. Registry], 39. Newcourt's Repert. ii. 479, 674. Churton's Nowell, 9. Nicolson's Engl. Hist. Lib. 3, 58. Nicolson's Scotch Hist. Lib. 4, 82. Restituta, ii. 242. Cooper's Annals of Cambr. ii. 349. Ashmole's Berks. iii. 263. Gough's Brit. Topogr. i. 5, 24, 25; ii. 563.'

freendlie consent and orders. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupill; or my power so great, that I might woorthilie requite them both for those manifold kindnesses that I haue receiued of them."¹

He must have graduated at Oxford first, for in 1569 he proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at Cambridge under a grace² which calls him M.A. of Oxford of seven years' standing.³ He was before this, Household Chaplain to Sir Wm. Brooke, Lord Cobham, to whom he dedicated, as we have seen, his *Description of England*, and who gave him the Rectory of Radwinter in Essex,⁴ to which he was inducted on Feb. 16, 1558-9, and which he held till his death. On Jan. 28, 1570-1, he became a pluralist,⁵ and obtained the vicarage of Wimbish in Essex,⁶ but resign'd it in 1581, his successor

¹ He us'd his eyes too at both places, and at school; for he says of the buildings: "The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workmanship, commeth next the moold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two, with the chappell that king Henrie the seauenth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone three more notable piles within the compasse of Europe."

² Mr Luard of Trinity, the Registrar of the University, has kindly copied the grace for me:—"1569. Grace Book A, fol. 97 b: Conceditur 10 Junii magistro Willelmo Harryson ut studium 7 annorum in Theologia postquam rexit in artibus Oxoniæ cum oppositionibus etc. perficiendis etc. sub pœna x librarum ponendarum etc. sufficiat ei tam ad opponendum quam ad intrandum in sacra Theologia, præsentatus per D. Longeworth* et admissus 17 Junii."

³ Wood's *Ath. Ox.*, ed. Bliss., i. col. 537; Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* ii. 164.

⁴ The Manor and advowson of *Great Radwinter* had been part of the property of the Cobham family since 1433, if not before. (See Wright's *Hist. of Essex*, II. 92; Morant's do., II. 535.)

⁵ See his defence of pluralism, p. 21-2. It was vehemently condemn'd by most of his contemporaries.

⁶ The Vicarage of *Wimbish* not being a "competent maintenance," and the adjoining vicarage of *Thunderley* being so small that no one would accept of it, Dr Kemp, Bishop of London in 1425, united the two. The presentation to these incorporated vicarages was made alternate in the Rector of Wimbish (it is a sinecure rectory) and the Priory of Hatfield Regis (who had the great tithes and advowson of Thunderley). In 1547, Ed. VI. granted this Priory's advowson or right of presenting alternately to Wimbish, to Ed. Waldgrave, Esq.; and it passed on in private hands, so that from 1567 to 1599 it belonged to Francis de

* Master of St John's.

being appointed on the 16th of November in that year. Between 1559 and 1571 he must have married Marion Isebrande, "daughter to William Isebrande and Ann his wife, sometyme of Anderne, neere vnto Guisnes in Picardie, and whome" (he says in his Will, referring no doubt to the sometimes suppos'd unlawfulness of priests' marriages), "by the lawes of god I take and repute in all respectes for my true and lawfull wife." By her he left issue,¹ one son Edmund, and two daughters,—one, Anne, unmarried, and another the wife of Robert Baker. He tells us on p. 158 how his wife and her maid brewed him 200 gallons of beer for 20s., as he was 'scarse a good malster' himself, p. 155, and a poor man on £40 a year, p. 159. And no doubt his kindly "Eve will be Eve, tho' Adam would saie naie," p. 34, tho' said of widows, showd that he understood the sex, was 'to their faults a little blind, and to their virtues very kind'—or however the old saw runs. At Radwinter he must have worked away at his *Chronologie*, p. 357; collected his Roman coins (p. 356), got savage with the rascally Essex lawyers (p. 206-7), attended to his garden,

"For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a little of my garden, which is but small, and the whole *Arca* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath benee my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie neere three hundred² of one sort and other

la Wood, who thus, it would seem, must have been the patron who presented William Harrison. See Morant's *Hist. of Essex*, pp. 560, 561.

By the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Hen. VIII. the clear yearly value of *Wimbish Vicarage* was £8; tithes 16s. That of *Radwinter Rectory* £21 11s. 4d.; tithes £2 3s. 2½d. Some of the parson of Radwinter's tithes were made up thus:

"to the parson of Radwynter forseid for the yerely tythes of the said maner [Bendish Hall, in the parish of Radwinter], one acre of whete in harvest price xs, one acre of otes price vs iiij d, a lambe price viij d, a pigg, price iiij d, and in money iij s iiij d."—*Valor Eccl.* Vol. I. p. 85, col. 2.

¹ I assume that Harrison had once, more children, whom he flogged occasionally. When speaking of mastiffs in Bk. 3, chap. 7, p. 231, col. 1, l. 60, ed. 1587, he says, "I had one my selfe once, which would not suffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate, neither those that were of my house, to be touched in his presence. Or if I had beaten *anie of my children*, he would gentlie haue assaied to catch the rod in his teeth, and take it out of my hand, or else pluck downe their clothes to saue them from the stripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our mastiffes, creatures of no lesse faith and loue towards their maisters than horses." Still, girls were flogged in Elizabeth's days, no doubt (compare Lady Jane Grey's case, in Ascham), as well as a hundred years before. See how Agnes Paston beat her daughter Elizabeth in 1449, *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, vol. i, Introd., p. cxvi.

² Gerard had above a thousand:—

contained therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to bee had," p. 331-2,

kept his eyes open to everything going on round him, and lookt after his parishioners, when he wasn't writing his *Description of England* in London, or visiting at Lord Cobham's house in Kent.

On April 23, 1586, William Harrison was appointed Canon of Windsor, and was installd the day after. The Dean has kindly sent me the following extract from the Chapter Book, St George's Chapel, Windsor :—

Anni Install.	Canonici	Anni obitus
1586.	Gulielmus Harrison 24 ^{to} Aprilis, loco Ryley, Theologiae Baccalaureus. Obijt, et Sepultus est Windsoriae, et White Successit.—Rector fuit de Radwinter. ¹	1593.

but says there is no grave-stone or other notice of where Harrison was buried.² (I can't get a line from the now rector of Radwinter.)

§ 4. For the following abstract of Harrison's Will, I am indebted to Colonel Chester :—

(81 Nevell) "William Harrison, Clerk, parson of Radwinter and Prebendary of Windsor—dated at Radwinter 27 July 1591—to be buried at Radwinter or Windsor, as I may die at either place. My goods to be divided into 4 equal parts 'of which one parte and an

"*Gerard's Catalogue of his Garden*.—A reprint of 'the first professedly complete catalogue of any one garden, either public or private, ever published' certainly deserves putting on record here. Gerard's *Herball* is by no means a rare book; but the *Catalogus arborum fruticum ac plantarum tam indigenarum quam exoticarum in horto Johannis Gerardi civis et chirurgi Londinensis nascentium* is exceedingly rare. This reprint, therefore, which we owe to the liberality of Mr B. Daydon Jackson, will be extremely welcome to all interested in the early introduction of exotic plants. The reprint consists of a limited number of copies for private circulation only. Without being an absolute fac-simile it is almost an exact reproduction of the original, the first edition of which was published in 1596. A second edition appeared in 1599, which Mr Jackson also reprints, together with some of his own remarks and notes on the *Herball*, and a Life of Gerard. But what will be found especially useful is the list of modern names affixed to the old ones. Gerard's *physic* garden was in Holborn, and included upwards of a thousand different kinds of plants. . . . There are several other lists of this kind we should be glad to see reprinted—Tradescant's, among others, as the younger Tradescant made a voyage to Virginia and introduced many American trees."—*Academy*, July 1876.

¹ (Note by the late Dr Goodall): Erat quidem Gulielmus Harrison Socius Etonensis Mar. 3. 1592, Vice præpositus Collegii et Rector de Everdon in Comitatu Northampt. Ut ille mortuus est Etonæ, et ibidem Sepultus Dec. 27, 1611.

² Mr J. Higgs of Sheet Street, Windsor, has kindly searcht the parish Register of Burials, which dates from 1564, but he finds no entry of Canon Harrison's burial.

'halfe shall remaine vnto Marion Harrison *alias* Marion Isebrande 'and the daughter of William Isebrande sometyme of Anderne, 'whome by the lawe of god, I take for my true and lawfull wife;' ¹ another part and a half equally to my son Edmund and my daughter Anne—my son in law Robert Baker and his wife I remember not in this my will, as I have already given them their portion; to the quire in Windsor 40s.; to the poor of Radwinter 40s.; to the poor children of the hospital at London 20s.; to the poor of St Thomas Apostle in London 20s.; to each child of my son Baker 10s.; to each child of my cousin Morecroft, Clerk 5s.—'I make & ordayne 'the sayed Marion Isebrande *alias* Marion Harrison, daughter to 'William Isebrande and Ann his wife, sometyme of Anderne neere 'vnto Guisnes in Picardie, and whome by the lawes of god I take and 'repute in all respectes for my true and lawfull wife,' and my son Edmund Harrison, my Executors.—Witnesses, Mr Wm. Birde, Esq., Thos. Smith, yeoman; Lancelott Ellis, vicar of Wimbishe; & Thos. Hartlie the writer hereof."

The Will was proved on 22 Nov. 1593, by the said Edmund Harrison, son and executor named therein, the relict and executrix Marion, being dead.

Letters of administration to the goods, &c., of Marion Harrison, late of New Windsor, in the county of Berks, were granted on 12 Dec. 1593 to her son Edmund Harrison

§ 5. William Harrison had opinions of his own about public and social matters in his day, and also had often racy ways of expressing those opinions. I'll extract some:—In Chap. 1, he calls Becket "the old cocke of Canturburie" (p. 9, l. 4 from foot); notes how the Conferences of clergy and laity stirrd the parsons "to applie their books . . . which otherwise . . . would giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting of matches, and other like vanities" (p. 18, at foot); he complains of the subsidies and taxes that the clergy are made to pay, "as if the church were now become the asse whereon euerie market man is to ride and cast his wallet" (p. 25, at foot); also of "the couetousnesse of the patrones, of whom some doo bestow aduousons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horse-keepers" (p. 26, at foot), while others "doo scrape the wool from our clokes" (p. 34); he notes how Popish "images . . . and monuments of idolatrie are remooued" from the churches, "onelie the stories in glasse windowes excepted," which are let stay for a while, from the scarcity and cost of white glass (p. 31-2); he'd like to get rid of

¹ See his defence of priests leaving "their substances to their wives and children," in his *Description*, p. 33-4 below.

Saints' Days (p. 32); he commends the decent apparel of the Protestant parsons, as contrasted with that of the Popish blind sir-Johns, who went "either in diuerse colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red,¹ greene, &c., with their shoos piked,² . . . so that to meet a priest in those daies was to behold a peacocke that spreadeth his taile when he danseth before the henne" (p. 33); and then he denounces the cheating at elections for College fellowships, scholarships (p. 35, 77).

Ch. 2. On p. 43 Harrison says that he had for a time the 'collection' (of MSS., maps, &c.) of "William Read,³ sometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time." He has a cut, on p. 48, at the Popes' nephews—"for nephues might say in those daies: Father, shall I call you vncler?"—says, on p. 55, that he knew one of the Norwich-diocese churches turned "into a barne, whilest the people heare seruice further off vpon a greene: their bell also, when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone." On p. 63, after saying what England in old time paid the Pope, he asks, "and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellows or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot seeth, beside all other commodities."

In describing the Universities in Chapter 3 (see p. xi above), Harrison dwells again (p. 77, and 35) on the packing and bribing

¹ Compare the smart red dress with blue hood and long blue liripipe from it, of the Nun's Priest, in the coloured illumination of the Ellesmere MS. given in my *Six-Text Canterbury Tales*.

² Proude preestes coome with hym, Mo than a thousand,
In paltokes and pyked shoes, And piseris longe knyves.
Vision of Piers Plowman, Pass. xx. l. 14360, ii. 438, ed. Wright.

³ William Rede or Reade, made Bp. of Chichester 1369, died 1385, "is said to have been a native of Devonshire, and to have received his early education in Exeter Coll. Oxford, from whence he removed to Merton, having been elected a fellow. He soon discovered a singular genius for the sciences, as they were then known and practised, and excelled in geography, astronomy, and architecture. About the year 1349, he gave a design for a library at Merton College, and superintended the building, which is very spacious, if considered as a repository of MSS. only. . . . He contributed greatly to furnishing the library with valuable MSS., adding his own, which consisted of several scientific treatises, astronomical tables, and maps."

"He was a great encourager of learning, particularly by procuring many rare MSS. from the continent, which were transcribed at his expense." He built Amberley Castle, an episcopal residence for Chichester.—*Dallaway's History of the Western Division of the County of Sussex*, 1832, Vol. I. pp. 54, 55.

practist at elections for fellowships and scholarships, and how 'poore mens children are commonlie shut out by the rich,' whose sons "ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes¹ vnto an other trade)," p. 77-8. He also complains of the late-nam'd "idle fellowships" that are still a disgrace to our Universities, tho' now their holders don't work for "eighteene or peraduenture twenty yeeres,"

"For after this time, & 40 yeeres of age, the most part of students doo commonlie giue ouer their woonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet dooing litle good in their own vocation & calling," p. 80.

And he repeats, in milder words, Ascham's² caution against sending young men to Italy, for 'an Italianate Englishman is a devil incarnate,' as the Italians themselves said.³ "And thus much at this time of our two vniuersities, in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they have vouchsafed, rather of their fauour than my desert, to yeeld and bestow vpon me" (p. xii and vi above).

Chapter 4, of the Partition of England into Shires, is dull; but there are interesting bits on Harrison's determination to say only what he knows (p. 90, 94, 95), and about the inquests or juries being nearly starvd, thro' the stronger side packing, or getting some partisans into, the quest (p. 101-2); about the nuisance of the great increase of lawyers (p. 102: see too p. 131, 204-7); 'the burning of vagabounds through their eare' (p. 103), and the absurd custom at the Court Baron of Raleigh⁴ (p. 104). On p. 105 too we get

¹ Cambridge studies. 1516, Aug. 31. Er. Ep. II. 10. Erasmus to Bovill. Thirty years ago, nothing was taught at Cambridge except Alexander's *parva Logica*, some scraps from Aristotle, and the *Questiones* of Duns Scotus. In process of time improved studies were added; mathematics, a new Aristotle, a knowledge of Greek letters. What has been the consequence? The University can now hold its head with the highest, and has excellent theologians. Of course they must now study the New Testament with greater attention, and not waste their time, as heretofore, in frivolous quibbles.—Brewer's *Calendar of Hen. VIII's Time*, vol. II. pt. i. p. 716.

² As a usually accurate friend of mine always calls this name 'Asham,' I note that it's often spelt 'Askham' in old writers.

³ On pages 129-30, Harrison repeats his warning in stronger terms, "This neuerthelesse is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vsuall sending of noblemens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to passe that they returne far worse men than they went out." See the sequel. ⁴ Not Raleigh as in text.

the welcome notice "of my freend *W. Cambden*" whose *Britannia* was soon to be publisht, and appeared in 1586.

Of Chapter 5 the most interesting parts to me¹ are those on the evil of sending young Englishmen to Italy (p. 129-30: see note 3, p. xvii overleaf); the anticipation of the modern J. S. Mill & Coöperative doctrine of the evil of too many middlemen in trade (p. 131: the argument will cover distributors as well as importers, tho' it's made clearer on p. 300), and lawyers in business; the improvement in the condition of yeomen (p. 133); the often complained-of evil² of "our great swarmes of idle seruing men" (p. 134 and 230); and our husbandmen and artificers never being better tradesmen, tho' they sometimes scamp their work (p. 136).

Chapter 6, 'of the Food and Diet of the English,' is very interesting, with its accounts of the dinners of the nobility "whose cookes are, for the most part, muscull-headed Frenchmen and strangers" (p. 144), and who eat "delicates wherein the sweette hand of the seafaring Portingale is not wanting" (p. 145). Then p. 147 notices the rage for Venice glass among all classes—as Falstaff says, A.D. 1598, in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 154, "Glasses, glasses, is the only drinking."—This is followed by capital accounts of the diet of the gentlemen and merchants (p. 148), and the artificers (p. 150); the bread³ (153), and drink (155), of all classes; and how Mrs Wm. Harrison brewd the family beer (158-160),—"and hereof we make three hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is meet for poore men as I am, to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeaere, *Computatis computandis*, able to performe?) may indure no deeper cut," p. 159;—with touches like *Theologicum* being the best wine of old, because "the merchant would haue thought that his soule should have gone streightwaie to the diuell, if he should haue serued them [the monks] with other than the best," p. 149-150; and this kindly

¹ Note an addition while Harrison's book was going thro' the press: the top sidenote on p. 112. There's a cut at Dissenters, 'the lewd religious sort,' on p. 117.

² See Sir T. More's *Utopia*, 'a huge number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living,' &c.

³ On the finest kind of bread, *manchet*, note that Queen Elizabeth's was made from Heston wheat, Middlesex:—

"*Heston*, H. 10. a most fertile place of wheate, yet not so much to be commended for the quantitie, as for the qualitie, for the wheat is most pure, accompted the purest in manie shires. And therefore Queene ELIZABETH hath the most part of her provision from that place for *manchet* for her Highnes own diet, as is reported."—1596. Jn. Norden, *Discription of Middlesex*, p. 25, ed. 1723.

opinion of working-men, for which one can't help liking the old parson¹:—

"To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficientlie liberall, & verie freendlie at their tables; and when they meet, they are so merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and subtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. . . This is moreouer to be added in these meetings, that if they happen to stumble vpon a peece of venison, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale . . . they thinke their cheere so great, and themselues to haue fared so well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome, when their bellies be full, they will not often sticke to make comparison, because that of a subject there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office." p. 151 (see 152-3 too).

Chapter 7 is the amusing one on the 'Apparell and Atire' of English folk already referd to (p. xvi above); and though it's not so bitter as Stubbes's or Crowley's, yet it's fun, with its 'dog in a doublet,' p. 168, and its beard bit, p. 169, if a man "be wesell becked [beakt], then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bowlded hen, and so grim as a goose, if Cornelis of Chelmeresford saie true."

In Chapter 8, on the Parliament, the only personal bit is Harrison's saying that he copies from Sir Thomas Smith,² "requiting him with the like borrowage as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England" (p. 176). But in Chap. 9, 'Of the Laws of England,' after a dull account of the Trial by Ordeal, &c., we get Harrison breaking out again against the Lawyers, their prosperity and rascality, and taking fees (as barristers often do still) and doing nothing for 'em (p. 204-7, with a good bit about Welshmen's love of law-suits on p. 206). On p. 207 we find a pleasant notice of John Stow, the hard-working chronicler so shamefully neglected in his own age: "my freend *John Stow*, whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in

¹ But he speaks, at p. 69, "of the common sort, whose mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehension, and eies readie to espie anie thing that they may reprooue and carpe at." Still, Harrison took more kindly to the common sort than Shakspeare did in his plays.

² *De Republica Anglorum*. The maner of Gouvernement or policie of the Realme of England, compiled by the Honorable Sir Thomas Smyth, Knight, Doctor of both the lawes, and one of the principal Secretaries vnto the two most worthy Princes, King Edward the sixt, and Queen Elizabeth . . . London . . . 1584 (some copies 1583). A posthumous publication.—*Haslitt*.

my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour."

Chapter 10, 'Of Prouision made for the Poore,' notes the weekly collection made in every parish for the deserving poor (p. 214), and gives Harrison's opinion on the Malthusians of his day:—

"Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessarie brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermost, to the end the authoritie of the one upon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first, may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any forren inuasion should be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake!—then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to seeke remedie." p. 215-16.

The sham beggars,¹ he says, 'are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat' (p. 217). Then he makes extracts from Harman about the rogues (p. 218), among whom, by statute, are 'plaiers and minstrels' (p. 220).

In Chapter 11, on the 'Punishments appointed for Malefactors,' our author notes that "our condemned persons doo go . . cheerfullie to their deths, for our nation is free, stout, hautie, prodigall of

¹ Here are two of Mr Halliwell's rejected cuts of beggars, copi'd from engravings of about 1630 A.D.

Other earlier and rougher cuts of rogues are in the edition of Awdeley and Harman on Vagabonds, by Mr Viles and myself for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series in 1869. Harman livd in Kent, and his book is very curious.



life and bloud" (p. 221); that the punishment for 'robbing by the high waie' (like Sir John Falstaff's), 'cutting of purses,' 'stealing of deere by night' (like Shakspeare's, if he ever stole deer from Sir Thos. Lucy, who had no park in his time), was death (p. 224); and that the punishment for adultery and fornication was not sharp enough:—

"As in theft therfore, so in adulterie and whoredome, I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so cold" (p. 226).

On p. 230 he complains of the robberies by unthritt young gentlemen, and "seruing-men whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches;" and on p. 232 that selfish men, and even constables, in the country, won't leave their work to follow up thieves and take them to prison¹: this "I haue knowne by mine owne experience."

Chapter 12, 'Of the manner of Building and Furniture of our Houses,' is perhaps the best, and the best-known, in the book. It describes how English houses were built, and notes these new things, 1. that rich men were beginning to use stoves for sweating baths (p. 235); while, 2. all men were using glass for windows; 3. that timber-houses were giving way to brick and stone; and that though our workmen were excellent, their demands for high wages often caused strangers to be employd in building (p. 238); 4. the increast richness of furniture, not only in rich men's houses, but in those of 'the inferiour artificers and manie farmers,' who "now garnish their cupbords with plate, their ioined beds with tapistrie and silke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie . . . dooth infinitelie appeare" (p. 239);

[5.] "the multitude of chimnies latelie erected;" [6.] "the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers (yea, and we our selues also) haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a sheet, vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes,) and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster or pillow. . . . Pillowes (said they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie sheet aboue them, it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies,

¹ Did Shakspeare ever turn out and chey a Stratford thief, I wonder? He must have been able to hit and hold hard.

to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hides." . . [7.] "The exchange of vessell, as of treene¹ platters into pewter, and woodden spoones into siluer or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene stuffe in old time, that a man should hardlie find four peeces of pewter (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmers house, and yet for all this frugalitie, (if it may so be iustly called) they were scarce able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without selling of a cow, or an horsse, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vttermost by the yeare."

The farmer was very poor too; and yet now, though his £4 rent is raised to £40, he can not only buy plate, and featherbeds, &c., but can purchase a renewal of his lease, 6 years before the expiration of the old one; and the paying the money "shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaued it from his chin" (p. 241). Against these signs of prosperity, these fat kine, are 3, nay 4, lean kine, which eat up their plump brethren (p. 241-2),

"three things . . are growen to be verie grievous vnto them, to wit, the inhansing of rents, latelie mentioned; the daillie oppression of copiholders, whose lords seeke to bring their poore tenants almost into plaine seruitude and miserie, daillie deuising new meanes, and seeking vp all the old, how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then seuen times increasing their fines; driuing them also for euerie trifle to loose and forfeit their tenures, (by whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and is mainteined,) to the end they may fleece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Jewes, now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and so commonlie, that he is accompted but for a foole that dooth lend his monie for nothing."

Interest has run up to 12 per cent.; wherefore, "helpe I praie thee in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take *Centum pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge in conscience" (p. 242). The 4th grievance is that Gentlemen (!) have actually "themselves become grasiers, butchers, tanners, sheepmasters, woodmen, and *denique quod non!*" (p. 243).

Chapter 13, 'Of Cities and Townes in England,' is dull, but has, on p. 254-5, a short account of the antiquities found in old Verulam, and Harrison's visit there in the summer of 1586 or 1585; and on p. 258-60, his groan over the decay of houses, their destruction by greedy land-owners, and the hard fare of poor men. On p. 261 he

¹ made of tree or wood.

evidently would put a limit to the land that one man might hold. In Chapter 14, 'Of Castles and Holds,' he wants the East coast fortified (p. 265), notes the frequency of old camps 'in the plaine fields of England' (p. 266), and says :

"I need not to make anie long discourse of castles, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with stone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he may trauaise his ground, choose his plot, and vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduantage & commoditie," p. 265.

In Chap. 15 he describes the Queen's palaces, but prefers the Henry VIII. buildings to the Elizabethan :

"Certes masonrie did neuer better flourish in England than in his time. And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Iland ; yet they are rather curious to the eie, like paper worke, than substantiall for continuance : whereas such as he did set vp, excell in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred farre aboue all the rest," p. 268.

He then gives an interesting account of the virtues of the Queen's Maids of Honour, the vices of the Courtiers (see extract above, p. viii) ; the studies of the young Ladies, and the medical powers of the old ; all of them being able to cook admirably, and the Carte or Bill of Fare of the dinner having been just introduc't (p. 272). Lastly he notes the admirable order and absence of ill-doing in the Queen's court (p. 274). Her 'Progresses' he approv'd of on p. 270.

Chap. 16 treats 'Of Armour and Munition ;' but, says Harrison, "what hath the longe blacke gowne to doo with glistering armour?" p. 282. Still, he echoes the universal lament of Ascham, the Statutes, &c. &c., over the decay of Long-Bow shooting in England :

"Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let in open skirmish, if anie leisure serue, to turne vp their tayles and crie : 'Shoote English,' and all bicause our strong shooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of such a varlet should haue beene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to see who shot the first," p. 279

He then says that all the young fellows above 18 or 20 wear a dagger ; noblemen wear swords or rapiers too, while 'desperate

cutters' carry 2 daggers or 2 rapiers, 'wherewith in euerie drunken fraie they are knowen to worke much mischief' (p. 282-3). And as trampers carry long staves, the honest traveller is obliged to carry pistols, "to ride with a case of dags at his saddlebow, or with some pretie short snapper," while parsons have only a dagger or hanger, if they carry anything at all (p. 283). The tapsters and ostlers at inns are in league with the highway-robbers,¹ who rob chiefly at Christmas time, to get money to spend at dice and cards, till they 'be trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet,' p. 284.

Passing over Chap. 17, on the Navy, Queen Elizabeth's delight in it (p. 290), and the fast sailing of our ships, we come on a characteristic and interesting chapter in Chap. 18, 'Of Faires and Markets.' This subject is within Harrison's home life, as a buyer; and it's on the buyer's side, which includes the poor man's, that he argues. Magistrates don't see the proclamation price and goodness of bread kept to (p. 294-5); bodgers are allowd to buy up corn and raise the price of it (p. 296-9); to carry it home unsold, or to a distant market, if they want more money than the buyer likes to give (p. 301-2); nay, they've leave to export it for the benefit of enemies and Papists abroad, so as to make more profit (p. 298). Again, pestiferous purveyors buy up eggs, chickens, bacon, &c.; buttermen travel about and buy up butter at farmers' houses, and have raisd its price from 18*d.* to 40*d.* a gallon (p. 300). These things are ill for the buyer and the poor man, and should not be allowd

"I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to see their owne errorrs: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine."

Good doctrine, no doubt; but "*nous avons changé tout cela.*" However, in one thing the modern Political-Economist can agree with Harrison:—

"I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue," p. 300.

There's a comical bit about the names for ale, "huffecap, mad dog, angels food," &c., on p. 295, and the way "our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their

¹ Of hostlers, Harman says, "not one amongst twenty of them but haue well left their honesty, as I here a great sorte saye."—Harman's *Caucat*, p. 62, ed. Viles and Furnivall.

dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag . . . and . . . hale at hufcap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiser than their combs."

In Chap. 19, "Of Parkes and Warrens," Harrison tells us how coney warrens have increast, from the value of the creatures' black skins and the quick sale for young rabbits in London (p. 304); and what a shocking thing it is that one Lady has sold her husband's venison to the Cooks, and another Lady has ridden to market to see her butter sold! it's as bad as an Earl feeling his own oxen to see whether they're ready for the butcher! (p. 305). He then gives us a refreshing bit of his mind on owners of parks who enclose commons:

"And yet some owners, still desirous to inlarge those grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, doo not let dailie to take in more, not sparing the verie commons whervpon manie townships now and then doo liue, affirming that we haue alreadie too great store of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too soone doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndooing (they saie) of the common wealth.

"Certes, if it be not one curse of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in such sort, from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shrowds of wild beasts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most keepers call them) haue eaten vp, and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, because the corruption is so generall," p. 306-7.

The decaye of the people is the destruction of a kingdome, neither is any man borne to possesse the earth alone.

Chapter 20, 'Of Gardens and Orchards,' is interesting, not only as containing the bit quoted above, p. xiii, on Harrison's own garden, but for its note of how vegetables, roots, and salad herbs, that had gone out of use since Henry IV.'s time, had in Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's days come into daily consumption (p. 324), so that men even eat dangerous fruits like mushrooms. Also, hops and madder were grown again, and rare medicinable herbs. Gardens were beautified (p. 325), plants imported (p. 326); orchards supplied with apricot, almond, peach, fig, and cornel trees; nay, capers, oranges, lemons and wild olives (p. 329-30: with a little bit of sermonising). Grafting was practist with great skill and success (p. 330); even dishwater was utiliz'd for plants. And as to roses, there was one in Antwerp in 1585 that had 180 leaves on one button or flower, and Harrison could have had a slip of it for £10 (£60 now?) if he hadn't thought it "but a tickle hazard."

Chapter 22 is interesting, from Harrison's laments in it over the

destruction of English woods, which he saw yearly disappearing around him,¹ one man, as he says, having turnd 60 woods into one pair of breeches;² p. 343. And then, mov'd by the thought of what will become of England without its oaks, the unselfish old parson utters the four dearest wishes of his heart:—

"I would wish that I might liue no longer than to see foure things in this land reformed, that is: (1) the want of discipline in the church: (2) the couetous dealing of most of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: (3) the holding of faires and markets vpon the sundaie to be abolished, and referred to the wednesdaies: (4) and that euerie man, in whatsoeuer part of the champaine soile enioieth fortie acres of land and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with oke mast, hasell, beech, and sufficient prouision be made that it may be cherished and kept. But I feare me that I should then liue too long, and so long, that I should either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not such things but they may easilie be brought to passe," p. 343-4.

¹ Harrison wasn't the only man who felt thus. See Arthur Standish's two tracts: "The Commons Complaint. Wherein is contained two speciall Grievances: The first, the generall destruction and waste of Woods in this Kingdome . . . The Second Grievance is, The extreame dearth of Victuals. Fovre Remedies for the same, &c. London Printed by William Stansby, 1611." 40. F 2 in fours.

"New Directions of Experience to the Commons Complaint by the encouragement of the Kings most excellent Maiesty, as may appeare, for the planting of Timber and Fire-wood. With a neere Estimation what Millions of Acres the Kingdome doth containe, what Acres is waste ground, whereon little profit for this purpose will arise . . . Inuentid by Arthur Standish. Anno Domini. MDCXIII.' 40. A—D in fours; E, 4 leaves, and a leaf of F."—*Haslett's Collections and Notes*, p. 401-2. Also Massinger's *Guardian*, II. iv.

² "If woods go so fast . . . I have knowne a well burnished gentleman that hath borne threescore at once [weren't they trees?] in one paire of galigascons, to shew his strength and brauerie." Brick-burning also consumd much wood:

Compare Harrison, bk. 3, chap. 9, p. 234, col. 2, l. 46, ed. 1587:—"such is the curiositie of our countrimen, that notwithstanding almightie God hath so blessed our realme in most plentifull maner, with such and so manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longest continuance, yet we, as lothsome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, doo commonlie leaue these naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, *in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie consumed and spent*, to the no small deciae of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that perish off for cold." See, too, chap. 10, p. 236, col. 2, l. 44, "Of colemines we haue such plentie in the north and westerne parts of our Iland, as may suffice for all the realme of England: and so must they doo hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherrished than it is at this present." See too the extract from Bk I, under § 6, No. 9, p. xxxviii below.

This same chapter 22 contains the capital bit about the oaken men and willow houses and their smoke-dried inhabitants, quoted above, p. viii (p. 337-8 below); and a strong protest against rascally tanners (p. 340) and wood-fellers who, for private gain, evade the laws (p. 343); also some good advice about draining (p. 346).

In his 23rd Chapter, on Baths and Hot Wells, Harrison says that he's tasted the water of King's Newnham well, near Coventry, and that it had "a tast much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasant nor vnsauorie in the drinking" (p. 348). From his description of Bath, it is clear that he had been there, p. 350-5, unless he quotes an eyewitness's words as his own. His 24th Chapter, 'of Antiquities found,' tells us of his own collection of Roman coins (p. 356) which he intended to get engrav'd in his *Chronologie*, though, he says, the cost of engraving,

"as it hath doone hitherto, so the charges to be employed vpon these brasen or copper images will hereafter put by the impression of that treatise: whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall soone proue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe," p. 357. (See p. iv, note 4, above.)

His words on p. 358 seem to imply that he'd visited Colchester (as no doubt he had) and York, in his search for coins. His account 'Of the Coines of England,' chap. 25, ends his Book 2, the first of his *Description of England*.

This Section is longer than I meant it to be; and it doesn't bring out the religious side of Harrison's character. But I hope it leaves the reader with a kindly impression of the straightforward racy Radwinter parson and Windsor Canon. A business-like, God-fearing, truth-seeking, learned, kind-hearted and humorous fellow, he seems to me; a good gardener, an antiquarian and numismatist, a true lover of his country, a hater of shams, lazy lubbers and evil-doers; a man that one likes to shake hands with, across the rift of 200 years that separates us.

§ 6. As Harrison, in his *Description of the Rivers, &c., of England* in Book I. has, here and there, bits giving his own experiences or opinions, I pick out those that were, in this regard, interesting to me as I skimd over the book, in the hope that they will interest the reader too. These bits comprise 1. his opinion on giants, and his seeing a 7-foot man; 2. his view of the English Language (p. xxix); 3. his English name '*By-land*' for the Latin *Peninsula* (p. xxx); 4. his report on the Isle of Man superstitions and sheep (p. xxxi);

5. and his opening some barnacles that he found on a ship's bottom in the Thames (p. xxxii); 6. some one's (? not his) visit to the Shetland Isles and Scotland, and being very glad to rest his wearied bones at home (p. xxxii); 7. his cruise up the mouth of the Thames (p. xxxiii); 8. his praise and description of that 'noble river,' and the salmon, &c., daily caught there (p. xxxiv); and 9. his account of his own parish, Radwinter, of which he was rector (p. xxxviii). Any reader whom these bits bore, can easily skip 'em. They end at p. xl.

I. HARRISON ON GIANTS.

"[Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchase of a dispensation to marrie with his kinswoman (a woman also of much more than common stature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can saie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherefore it appeareth by present experience, that all is not absolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of such giants.] For this cause therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this breefe discourse insuing, [as indeuouring] therby to prooue, that the opinion of giants is not altogether grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of maruellous things: but that there haue beene such men in deed, as for their hugeness of person haue resembled rather
 • Essay. 30.
 vers. 25. • high towers than mortall men, although their posterities are now consumed, and their monstrous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge."—p. 8, col. 1, l. 68, to col. 2, l. 13.

"[Now to say somewhat also of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be seene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time past was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, so that it is shorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king *Edward*. Another also is to be seene in Aldermarie burie, of some called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the symmetrie hath beene taken by some skilfull in that practise, and an image made according to that proportion, which is fixt in the east end of the cloister of the same church, not farre from the said bone, and sheweth the person of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which, as some say, was found in the cloister of Poules, that was neere to the librarie, at such time as the Duke of Somerset did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the stones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his house. These two bones haue I seene, beside other, whereof at the beholding I tooke no great heed, because I minded not as then to haue had any such vse of their proportions, and therefore I will speake no more of them: this is sufficient for my purpose that is deliuered out of the christian authors]."—p. 10, col. 2, l. 69, to p. 11, col. 1, l. 17.

Harrison has seen a lame giant, 7 feet high.

12. i. 35. "I could rehearse manie mo examples of the bodies of such men, out of *Solinus*, *Sabellicus*, [*D.*] *Cooper*, and others. [As of *Oetas* and *Ephialtes*, who were said to be nine orgies or paces in heighth, and foure in bredth, which are taken for so many cubits, bicause there is small difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the first, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whose head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greatest weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue seene, saith thus :

*This king Richard I vnderstand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaile the Saracens bones,
The head in sooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of steele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.*

"I could speake also of *Gerards* staffe or lance, yet to be seene in *Gerards* hall at London in Basing lane, which is so great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of set purpose and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the same. *I haue seene a man my selfe of seuen foot in heighth, but lame of his legs.* The chronicles also of *Cogshall* speake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himselfe. I might (if I thought good) speake also of another of no lesse heighth than either of these and liuing of late yeares,] but these here [remembred] shall suffice to prooue my purpose withall. I might tell you in like sort of the [marke] stone which *Turnus* threw at *Aeneas*, [and] was such as that twelue chosen and picked men [(saith *Virgil*,]

(Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)

were not able to stur and remooue out of the place: *Vis unita fortior est eadem dispersa.* but I passe it ouer, and diuerse of the like, concluding that these huge blocks were ordeined and created by God : first for a testimonie vnto vs of his power and might ; [and] secondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, sith they which possessed the same, were not onelie tyrants, doltish, & euill men, but also oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feeble."—p. 12, col. 2, l. 4.

2. HARRISON'S VIEW OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

14. i. 2. "But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the first, to wit,¹ toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it selfe ceased to be spoken generallie, [but most of all, and by law, in the midst of

¹ and for to wit, ed. 1577. '[]' mean, 'added in the 2nd ed. 1587.'—F.

Edward the third,] and then began the English to recouer and grow in more estimation than before; notwithstanding that among our artificers, the most part of their implements, tooles and [words of art] reteine still their French denominations [euen] to these our daies, as the language it selfe is vsed likewise in sundrie courts, bookes [of record,] and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearsall.

The helpers of
our English
toong.

Afterward also, by diligent trauell of *Geffray Chaucer*, and *John Gowre*, in the time of Richard the second, and after them of *John Scogan*, and *John Lydgate* monke of Berrie, our [said] toong was brought to an excellent passe, notwithstanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Queene Elizabeth, wherein ¹*John Sewell*, B. of Sarum, *John Fox*, and sundrie learned &¹ excellent writers haue fullie accomplished the ornature of the same, to their great praise and immortall commendation; although not a few other doo greatlie seeke to staine the same, by fond affectation of forren and strange words, presuming that to be the best English, which is most corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and found of manie syllables. But as this excellencie of the English toong is found in one, and the south part of this lland; so in Wales the greatest number (as I said) retaine still their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the said countrie being lesse corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne estimation

Englishmen apt
to learne any
forren toong.

and iudgement. [This also is proper to vs Englishmen, that sith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too smooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beside Hebrue, Greeke & Latine, and speake it naturallic, as if we were home-borne in those countries; & yet on the other side it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without some and that great note of imperfection, especiallie the French men, who also seldome write any thing that sauoreth of English trulie. It is a pastime to read how *Natalis Comes* in like maner, speaking of our affaires, dooth clip the names of our English lords. *But this of all the rest dooth breed most admiration with me, that if any stranger doo hit vpon some likelie pronuntiation of our toong, yet in age he swarueth so much from the same, that he is woorse therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a litle also in his owne, as I haue scene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue iustlie maruelled*].”—p. 14, col. 1, l. 2—53.

3. HARRISON'S ENGLISH BYLAND FOR THE LATIN PENINSULA.

30. i. 47. “In beginning therefore, with such as lie in the mouth of the aforesaid riuer, I must needs passe by the How², which is not an lland, ³and therefore not within the compasse of my description at

¹—many, 1577.

² Hoo, 1577.

³—but (if I may giue such peeces a new name) a bylande, bycause we may passe thyther from the maine Isle, by an Isthums or strictlande, that is to say, by lande, without anye vessell, at the full sea, or any horse at the ebbe. 1577.

this time, but almost an Iland, which parcels the Latins call *Peninsulas*, and *I doo english a Byland*, vsing the word for such as a man may go into drie-footed at the full sea, or on horssebacke at the low water without anie boat or vessell: and such a one almost is Rochford hundred in Essex also, yet not at this time to be spoken of, bicause not the sea onelie, but the fresh water also doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occasion wherfore it is called an Iland. This How³ lieth between Cliffe [(in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in How, or in the hundred of How)] & the Midwaie that goeth along by Rochester, [of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime after this maner:

*He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beside pilfering sea-men shall find durt ynow].*"—30. i. 65.

4. HARRISON ON THE ISLE OF MAN.

37. ii. 61. "*Giraldus* noteth a¹ contention² betweene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a comprmise the triall of the matter was referred to the liues or deaths of such venemous wormes as should be brought into the same, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like doo in Ireland, sentence passed with the king of England, & so he reitened the Iland. But howsoeuer this matter standeth, and whether anie such thing was done at all or not, sure it is that the people of the said Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and sorcerie (which they learned of the Scots, a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practise) in so-much that their women would oftentimes sell wind to the mariners, inclosed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the same, should for a great gale vndoo manie, and for the lesse, a [fewer or] smaller number. The stature of the men and also fertilitie of this Iland are much Tall men in Man. commended, and for the latter supposed verie neere to be equall with that of Anglesei, in all commodities."—p. 38, col. i, l. 7.

38. i. 40. "Moreouer the sheepe of this countrie Sheepe. are exceeding huge, well woollled, and their tailles of such greatnesse as is almost incredible. In like sort their hogs are in Hogs. maner monstrous. They haue furthermore great store of Barnacles. barnacles breeding vpon their coasts, but yet not so great store as in Ireland, and those (as there also) of old ships, ores, masts, [peesces of rotten timber as they saie,] and such putrified pitched stuffe, as by wrecke hath happened to corrupt vpon that shore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie saie whether they be fish or flesh, for although the religious Barnacles neither fish nor flesh. there vsed to eat them as fish, yet elsewhere, some haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited, for⁴ heretikes and lollards."

¹ how there was, 1577. ² sometyme between, 1577. ⁴ as, 1577.

5. HARRISON'S INVESTIGATIONS INTO BARNACLES.

38. i. 54. "[For my part, I haue beene verie desirous to vnderstand the vttermost of the breeding of barnacles, & questioned with diuers persons about the same. I haue red also whatsoever is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & sought out some places where I haue beene assured to see great numbers of them: but in vaine. *Wherefore I vtterlie despaired to obtaine my purpose, till this present yeare of Grace 1584, and moneth of Maie, wherein, going to the court at Greenwich from London by bote, I saw sundrie ships lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I doo not well remember now from which of these places) on whose sides I perceiued an infinit sort of shels to hang so thicke as could be one by another. Drawing neere also, I tooke off ten or twelue of the greatest of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I saw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the rest, sauing that the head was not yet formed, bicause the fresh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection.* Certeinlie the feathers of the taile hoong out of the shell at least two inches, the wings (almost perfect touching forme) were garded with two shels or sheeldes proportioned like the selfe wings, and likewise the brestbone had hir couerture also of like shellie substance, and altogether resembling the figure which *Lobell* and *Pena* doo giue foorth in their description of this foule: so that I am now fullie persuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in these shels, or some other sea-foule to vs as yet vnknown. For by the feathers appearing, and forme so apparant, it cannot be denied, but that some bird or other must proceed of this substance, which by falling from the sides of the ships in long voiaiges, may come to some perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpose]."—38. ii. 16.

6. A VISIT (? NOT HARRISON'S) TO THE SHETLAND ISLES.

44. i. 6. "From ¹these Shetland Iles, and ¹vntill we come southwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamnesse, I find no mention of anie Ile situat vpon that coast, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, [neither thought we it safetie for vs to search so farre as Thule, whence the most excellent brimstone commeth, & thereto what store of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whose secret situations though partlie seene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or discouered by anie, bicause of the great abundance of huge Ilands of ice that mooueth to and fro vpon their shores, and sundrie perilous gulfs and indraughts of water; and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpose, wherfore casting about, we came at the last into the Firth or Forth, which some call the Scottish sea,] wherein we passe by seuen or eight [iles²] such as they be, of which the first

¹—¹ the Orchades, 1577.² iles not in either edition.

called the Maie, the second Baas, and Garwie the third, doo seeme to be inhabited. From these also holding on our course toward England, we passe by another Ile, wherein Faux castell standeth, and this (so far as my skill serueth) is the last Iland of the Scottish side, in compassing whereof I am not able to discerne, whether their flats and shallows, number of Ilands without name, confusion of situation, lacke of true description, or mine owne ignorance, hath troubled me most. No meruell therefore that I haue beene so oft on ground among them. But most ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my natie citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the English dominion, where good interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to rest my wearie bones, and refresh at ease our wetherbeaten carcasses.¹—p. 44, col. 1, l. 41.

7. A CRUISE UP THE THAMES TO LONDON.

44. 2. 33. "Going forward from hence, by the Eston nesse (almost an Iland) I saw a small parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerstone in Orwell mouth, [&] two peeces or Islets at Cattiwade bridge; [and] then casting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merseie which is a pretie Iland, well furnished with Merseie. wood. It was sometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this present it hath beside two decayed blockehouses, two parish churches, of which one is called east Merseie, the other west Merseie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colchester, as parcell of his iurisdiction. Foulennesse Foulnesse. is an Ile void of wood, and yet well replenished with verie good grasse for neat and sheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is also a parish church; and albeit that it stand somewhat distant from the shore, yet at a dead low water a man may [(as they saie)] ride thereto if he be skilfull of the causie; [it is vnder the iurisdiction of London. And at this present, master William Tabor, bachelor of diuinitie and archdeacon of Essex, hath it under his iurisdiction & regiment, by the surrender of maister John Walker doctor also of diuinitie, who liued at such time as I first attempted to commit this booke to the impression.]

"In Maldon water are in like sort three Ilands inuironed all with salt streames, as saint Osithes, Northeie, and an- Osithe. other (after a mersh) that beareth no name so far as I Northeie. remember. On the right hand also as we went toward the sea againe, we saw Ramseie Ile, or rather a *Peninsula* or Ramseie. Biland, & likewise the Reie, in which is a chappell of Reie.

¹ my wetherbeaten carkase, 1577. He goes on (ed. 1587) with "The first Iland therefore which commeth to our sight after we passed Berwike, is that which was sometime called Lindesfarne, but now Holi Iland . . . Being therefore past S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile . . . I saw a small parcel cut from the maine in Orford hauen" . . .—F.

saint Peter. And then coasting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we saw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by east Wallot, and the fourth is Foulnesse, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one side, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulnesse. But to proceed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of anie name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Mersland, Elie, [Andredeseie in Trent, so called of a church there dedicated to saint Andrew,] and the rest, that are framed by the Ouze, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be described) sith I touch onelie those that are inuironed with the sea or salt water round about, as Canwaie. we may see in the Canwaie Iles, which some [call marshes onelie, and] liken [them]¹ to an ipocras bag, some to a vice, scrue, or wide sleeue, bicause they are verie small at the east end, and large at west. The salt rilles also that crosse the same doo so separat the one of them from the other, that they resemble the slope course of the cutting part of a scrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man doo imagine himselfe to looke downe from the top of the mast vpon them. Betweene these, moreouer, and the Leigh towne, lieth another litle Ile [or Holme,] whose name is to me vknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed these parcels as they laie, [or at the least haue sailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may easilie be doone at an high water:] but for as much as a perrie of wind (scarse comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis, one of the best seamen that England euer bred for his skill in the narrow seas, was wont to talke) caught hold of our sailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to see what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & so much may well suffice [where more cannot be had]."—p. 45, col. i, l. 29.

8. HARRISON'S PRAISE OF THE NOBLE RIVER THAMES.

46. i. 52. "² Having in this maner breiefelie touched this noble riuier, and such brookes as fall into the same; I will now adde a particular description of each of these last by themselues, whereby their courses also shall be seuerallie described to the satisfaction of the studious. But yer I take the same in hand, I will insert a word or two of the commodities of the said riuier, which I will performe with so much breuitie as is possible. Heereby also finding out his whole tract and course from the head to the fall thereof into the sea. It appeareth euidentlie³ that the length thereof is at the least, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be measured by the iourneies of the land. And as it is in course, the longest of the three famous riuers of this Ile, so it is nothing inferiour vnto them in abundance of all

¹ some doe liken, 1577.

²⁻³ Thus we see the whole tract and course of y^e Thames, by whose head and fall it is euident—1577.

kind of fish, whereof it is hard to saie, which of the three haue either most plentie, or greatest varietie, if the circumstances be duellie weighed. [What some other write of the riuers of their countries it skilleth not, neither will I (as diuerse doo) inuent strange things of this noble streame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither swalloweth vp bastards of the Celtish brood, or casteth vp the right begotten that are throwne in without hurt into their mothers lap, as *Politian* fableth of the Rhene, *Epistolarum lib. 8. epi. 6.* nor yeeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus dooth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, sweet and pleasant fish, wherewith such as inhabit neere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nourished.]

"What should I speake of the fat and sweet sal-
mons¹, dailie taken in this streame, and that in such plentie [(after the time of the smelt be past)] as no riuier in *Europa* is able to exceed it. What² store also of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, smelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, shrimps,³ &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know⁴ by experience better than I, by reason of their dailie trade of fishing in the same. And albeit it seemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in sundrie wise of these hir large commodities, by the insatiable auarice of the fishermen, yet this famous riuier complaineth [commonlie] of no want; but the more it looseth at one time, the more it yeeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it seemeth to be scant, sith it is not long since that kind of fish was brought ouer into England, and but of late to speake of into this streame, by the violent rage of sundrie land-flouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which means it became [somewhat] partaker also of this said commoditie, whereof earst it had no portion that I could euer heare.⁵ [Oh that this riuier might be spared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then should manie a poore man be vndoone. In the meane time it is lamentable to see, how it is and hath beene choked of late with sands and shelues, through the penning and wresting of the course of the water for commodities sake. But as this is an inconuenience easilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redresse thereof: so now, the fine or prise set vpon the ballasse sometime freeleie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*Iusques au point*) will be another cause of harme vnto this noble streame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an *i* in the word *point*: which grew through an error committed by an English notarie vnskilfull in the French toong, wherein that patent was granted.]

Carps, a fish late brought into England, and later into the Thames.

¹ In 1809, Priscilla Wakefield says of the Thames at Putney Bridge: "In the spring, smelts are caught here, in great abundance, and a few salmon; besides small flounders, shad, roach, dace, barbel, eels and gudgeons."—*Perambulations in London*, p. 428.

² but what, 1577.

³ 1577 adds 'Eles.'

⁴ know the same, 1577.

⁵ heare of, 1577.

"Furthermore, the said riuer floweth and filleth all his chanelles twice in the daie and night, that is, in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the space of seauentie miles, within the maine land: the streame or tide being alwaies highest at London, when the moone dooth exactlie touch the northeast and south or west points of the heauens, of which one is visible, the other vnder the earth, and not subiect to our sight. These tides also differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by so manie minuts as passe yer the reuolution and naturall course of the heauens doo reduce, and bring about, the said planet vnto those hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide ^{The iust distance between one tide and another.} and another, is found to consist of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience dooth confirme. [In like sort we see by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigh and greatnesse: for at the full and change of the moone we haue the greatest flouds; and such is their ordinarie course, that as they diminish from their changes and fuls, vnto the first and last quarters; so afterwards they increase againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes also they rise so high (if the wind be at the north or northeast, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, because the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames ouerfloweth hir banks neere vnto London: which hapneth especiallie in the fuls and changes of Ianuarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of custome soonest drowned.] This order of flowing in like sort¹ is perpetuall, [so that when the moone is vpon the southwest and north of points, then is the water by London at the highest: neither doo the tides alter,] except² some rough winds out of the west or southwest doo keepe ^{The streame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.} backe and checke the streame in his entrance, as the east and northeast doo hasten the comming in thereof,² or else some other [extraordinarie] occasion, put by the ordinarie course of the northerne seas, which fill the said riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both these doo happen oft³ among, I refer me to such as haue not sildome obserued it, as also the sensible chopping in of three or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnskilfull doo descant manie things."—p. 47, col. i. l. 18.

"[But how so euer these small matters doo fall out, and how often soeuer this course of the streame doth happen to be disturbed; yet at two seuerall times of the age of the moone, the waters returne to their naturall course and limits of time exactlie. *Polydore* saith that this riuer is seldome increased, or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks, by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it shalbe more apparantlie scene hereafter. For the more that this

¹ flowing likewise, 1577.

²⁻³ rough winds doe happen to checke the streame in hir comming, 1577.

³ ? oft, often (among = at intervals).—F.

riuer is put by of hir right course, the more the water must of necessitie swell with the white waters which run downe from the land : bicause the passage cannot be so swift and readie in the winding as in the streight course. These landfloods also doo greatlie straine the finesse of the streame, in so much that after a great landflood you shall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whose eies are so blinded with the thickenesse of that element, that they cannot see where to become, and make shift to saue themselues before death take hold of them. Otherwise the water of it selfe is very cleere, and in comparison next vnto that of the sea, which is most subtile and pure of all other ; as that of great riuers is most excellent, in comparison of smaller brookes : although *Aristotle* will haue the salt water to be most grosse, bicause a ship will beare a greater burden on the sea than on the fresh water ; and an eg sinke in this, that swimmeth on the other. But he may easilie be answered by the quantitie of roome and aboundance of waters in the sea ; whereby it becommeth of more force to susteine such vessels as are committed to the same, and whervnto the greatest riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable.] I would here make mention of sundrie bridges placed ouer this noble streame, of which that of London¹ is most chieflie to be *London bridge*. commended, for it is [in] maner a continuall street, well replenished with large and statelie houses on both sides, and situat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free squared stone, euerie of them being threescore foot in heighth, and full twentie in distance one from another, [as I haue often viewed.]

"In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of swans dailie to be seene vpon this riuer, the two thousand wherries and small boats, wherby three thousand poore watermen are maintained, through the cariage and recariage of such persons as passe or repasse from time to time vpon the same : beside those huge tide-boats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either carrie pas-

2000 boates² vpon the Thames and 3000 poore men maintained by the same, whose gaires come in most plentifullie in the tearme time.

¹ There was betweene *London* and *Southwarke* long time passage by ferrie vntill the Citizens caused a bridge of woode to be erected : after that, in the time of Ric. 2, anno 1176, they beganne to build a bridge of stone, which in the time of king JOHN they most artificially finished, anno 1209, contriuing it of 20 arches, and in the midst a drawe bridge, and vpon the same bridge on either side, the houses so artificially combined, that the whole bridge seemeth not onely a mayne and faire streete, but men seeme to pass vnder a continuall roofe : the bridge is in height 60 foote, in bredth 30 foote, the arches are in sunder 20 foote : there are, vnder the north arch of this bridge, most artificially erected, certain wheelles or tide myles, which rise and fall according to the ebs and floods, and they raise the water [brackish, partly salt ?] by pypes and counductes so high that it serueth such citizens houses in all places of *London*, as will bestow charge towarde the conducting thereof : The buildings vpon this bridge, on either side, were consumed with fire anno 1208 [but rebuilt].—1596. Jn. Norden, *Description of Middlesex*, p. 35, ed. 1723.

² wherries, 1577.

sengers, or bring necessarie prouision from all quarters of Oxfordshire, Barkeshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Herfordshire, Midlesex, Essex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for somuch as these things are to be repeated againe in the particular description of London, annexed to his¹ card, I surceasse at this time to speake anie more of them² here, as not lingering but hasting to performe my promise made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it best to resume the description of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatsoever is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonstration of his course".²—p. 47, col. i. l. 19.

9. HARRISON ON HIS OWN PARISH, RADWINTER, ESSEX.

Gwin or Pant.

106. i. 40. "There is a pretie water that beginneth neere vnto Gwinbach or Winbeche church in Essex, ³[a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull or faire, & Bache that signifieth a wood : and not without cause, sith not onelie the hilles on ech side of the said rillet, but all the whole paroch hath sometime abounded in woods ; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where,⁴ not onelie thorough excessiue building for pleasure more than profit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building ; but also for more increase of pasture & commoditie to the lords of the soile, through their sales of that emolument, whereby the poore tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced. This said brooke⁵] runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, [now] a parcell of your lordships⁶ possessions in those parts, ⁶descended from the Chamberleins, who were sometime cheefe owners of the same.⁶ By the waie also it is increased with sundrie pretie springs, of which Pantwell is the cheefe [(whereof some thinke the whole brooke to be named Pant)] and [which] (to saie the truth) hath manie a leasing fathered on the same. [Certes by the report of common fame it hath beene a pretie water, and of such quantitie, that botes haue come in time past from Bilie abbeie beside Maldon vnto the moores in Radwinter for corne. I haue heard also that an anchor was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courses by act of parlement were surueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the aforesaid relation. But this is strangest of all, that a lord sometime of Winbech (surnamed the great eater, because he would breake his fast with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein, as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lord John of Radwinter, could worke him none other iniurie, but by stopping vp the head of Pantwell, to

¹ Master Sackford's, I suppose.—F.

²⁻³ as also of the ryuer it self, wherefore let thys suffyse, 1577.

³⁻³ (the very limits of Dunmow Deanery) which, 1577.

⁴ See p. xxvi, above.—F.

⁵ Lord Cobham's : see p. vi and xii.—F.

⁶⁻⁶ and within three quarters of a mile of the aforesaid church, 1577.

put by the vse of a mill which stood by the church of Radwinter, and was serued by that brooke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill stood, and some posts thereof do yet remaine. But see the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a wolfe vnto the other in their mischeeuous moodes. For when the lord saw his mill to be so spoiled, he in reuenge of his losse, brake the necke of his aduersarie, when he was going to horsebacke, as the constant report affirmeth. For the lord of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his sonne was to hold his stirrop at certeine times when he should demand the same. Shewing himselfe therefore prest on a time to doo his said seruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to lift his leg ouer the saddle, he by putting backe his foot, gaue him such a thrust that he fell backward, and brake his necke : wherevpon insued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie ; and that seruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue these impertinent discourses, and returne againe to the springs whereby our Pant or Gwin is increased.] There is likewise another in a pasture belonging to the Grange, now¹ in possession of William Bird esquier, who holdeth the same in the right of his wife, but in time past belonging to Tilteie abbeie.¹ The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lordships manors there, called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cockswets house, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bridge, meeteth with the Gwin [or Pant] on the northwest end of Ferrants meade, southeast of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

"[I might take occasion to speake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendish hall: but bicause it is for the most part drie in summer, I passe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to speake also of the manor which was the chiefe lordship sometime of a parish or hamlet called Bendishes, now worne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Ashdon. It belonged first to the Bendishes, gentlemen of a verie ancient house yet extant, of which one laieng the said manour to morgage to the moonks of Feuersham, at such time as K. Edward the third went to the siege of Calis, thereby to furnish himselfe the better toward the seruice of his prince, it came to passe that he staid longer beyond the sea than he supposed. Wherevpon he came before his daie to confer with his creditors, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to suspect anie hard dealing on their behalves, considering his businesse in seruice of the king was of it selfe cause sufficient, to excuse his delaie of paiement vpon the daie assigned. Herevpon he went ouer againe vnto the siege of Calis. But when the day came, the moonks, for all this, made seisure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further

¹— belonging to Henry Browne esquier, sojourning therevpon, 1577.

recompense, maugre all the friendship that the aforesaid Bendish could make. The said gentleman also tooke this cousening part in such choler, that he wrote a note yet to be seene among his euidences, whereby he admonisheth his posteritie to beware how they trust either knaue moonke or knaue frier, as one of the name, and descended from him by lineall descent, hath more than once informed me. Now to resume our springs that meet and ioine with our Pant]."

§ 7. The first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle* was a success, and deservedly so. A second edition was calld for, and the proprietors resolvd to enlarge and continue it. In doing so, they spoilt it; for, though they added a great deal of relevant matter by Stowe¹, Hooker, &c., they let Francis Thynne especially pitchfork-in a shoal of irrelevant bits of pedigrees, biographies, &c., which had no right in such a book, except perhaps as appendixes. As I've said in my Forewords to Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. lxx:—

"When he came on a High Constable, Cardinal, Archbishop, Duke, in *Holinshed*, or Stow's or Hooker's *Continuation*, he evidently said, 'Happy thought, let's have a list of *all* English Cardinals, Archbishops, Dukes, &c.,' and accordingly collected the lists, and stuck them into the History, or narrative, over and over again, whisking the reader off, at a moment's notice, from the middle of Elizabeth's reign (say) to Edward the Confessor, or William the Conqueror, and then running him gently down a list of Archbishops, say, for sixty odd folio pages, till he landed him in Elizabeth again."

Well, Harrison had to enlarge his *Description of England*, and he did so.² His additions comprise many excellent and characteristic bits—see, for instance, the tailor and beard passage on p. 169-70,—yet one must own that a good deal of unnecessary padding was also put in, as most of that unlucky chapter 21, "Of Waters generallie," p. 332-6, already notist. Still, in reprinting the book³, neither Mr Viles nor I hesitated for a moment in the resolve to print the second and revisd edition, and mark by square brackets [] the

¹ "The other seuen [traitors in Babington's conspiracy] were likewise executed on the 21 of September [1586] . . . as I haue more at large set downe in *Reign Wolfe* and *Holinsheds* chronicle [the 2nd ed. of 1587]."—J. Stowe, *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1220.

² See at the end of these Forewords (p. xlv) Mr Viles's Comparative Table of the contents of Book I. in the two editions.

³ By an oversight, this Reprint was set in narrow lines like the Early English Text Society's books, instead of in the longer lines of the New Shakspeare Society's prose Texts. Neither the printer nor I discovered the mistake till too late to set it right. It increases the cost of the book, but leaves a larger margin to write notes on.

parts added in it; and by footnotes the parts altered or left out. The reader will thus have before him in the present volume (when completed by Part II.) the whole of both editions of Books II. and III. *The Description of England*, as well as extracts from Book I. *The Description of Britaine*.

§ 8. As my main object in reprinting this *Harrison* for the New Shakspeare Society, is, to enable our Members to realize to themselves the England of Shakspeare's time, and as the book has very little about London in it, I thought that a copy of Norden's Map of London¹ in 1593, engravd by Van den Keere, would be a most welcome addition to this volume. The original Map, in the old surveyor John Norden's "*Speculum Britannia*. The first Parte. An historicall & chorographicall discription of Middlesex,² . . . 1593," is somewhat indistinct. I tried hard to persuade our member Mr Halliwell to let me have, for the Society, a stereotype from his lately-made cut of it; but as he, to my astonishment, very firmly refus'd, I got Mr Stephen Thompson to photograph the British Museum copy of the Map as large as his lens could do it; and Mr W. H. Hooper has cut it on the wood it was photographed on to, so that its accuracy is as great as can be attained.³ Our map is thus bigger and more easy to work with, than Mr Halliwell's. By its aid we can see how Shakspeare rode into London through New Gate by the Acton and Holborn road; how he walkt up, thro' Bishops Gate, to Burbage's "The Theatre" (near the site of the present Standard Theatre at Shoreditch), where no doubt he was first employd (? 1586); how he got, across London's one bridge,

¹ "Leur capitale ville s'appelle Londres en Francoys, en Angloys *London*, qui est une fort belle ville, & excellente, & apres Paris l'une des plus belle, grande & riche, de tout le monde. Et ne fault parler de Lisbonne, ville capitale & metropolitaine de Portugal, ny d'Anvers, ny de Pampelune, ville de Navarre, ny de Bourgues en Hespaigne, ny Naples, ny autres, ny en grandeur ny en richesses: car premierement, la ville est riche en grosserie de mer, draps, laines, pescheries; & il y a un des [plus] beau pont qu'il soyt au monde."—1558. Estienne Perlin, *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse*, p. 6, repr. 1775.

² The author's original MS. of it, without the Map, is Harleian 570.

³ As our page just takes in the height of the Map itself, I've had the list of references to the Map-letters and numbers, shifted from the foot of the Map, where they are in the original, to each side. The list is repeated on each side for convenience' sake. As too it seemd a great pity that a Map so interesting to Shakspeare students, dwellers in London, and folk in general, should be confin'd to our Members, I have got the proprietors of *The Graphic* to buy an electrotype of our cut, in order that the Map may be printed in one of the sixpenny numbers of that popular journal, and thus be within the reach of everybody who cares to have it.

to The Globe (built A.D. 1599)¹ on Bankside,² or later in his career, past St Paul's (No. 11) to Blackfriars (after 1603), when he was part-taker of the profits of both houses. Shakspeare's London! What crowds of memories the phrase, the map, raises! But each of us can make his picture for himself.³ I need only say that I hope to give in Part II, Norden's Map of Westminster and the Strand, the street-view of either Edward VI's (1547), or Marie de Medicis's (1638) procession⁴—wonderfully interesting they both are—and also one or two Maps of Shakspeare's probable routes to London⁵, com-

¹ Therefore not in a 1593 map. Unluckily too 'The Theatre' is outside the limits of this map. But Lord Southampton's Chancery-Lane House must be near *l*, and Shakspeare's publishers in St Paul's Churchyard, near No. 11.

² On the light-taylde huswives who in 1600 "unto the Banke-sides round-house [? the Globe] fling, in open sight, themselves to show and vaunt," see John Lane, in my Tell-Troth volume, p. 133, and the Notes on him.

³ Still, we sadly want a good book on it. The late Mr Thornbury's is too talky, doesn't give authorities enough, and is not comprehensive enough either. We want a man of more research, knowledge, and accuracy, to write the book.

⁴ This most interesting engraving of a bit of London near Shakspeare's time that I've seen, is in Nichols's reprint, 1775, of the Sieur de la Serre's account of the entry into London of the Mother of Charles I's Queen in 1638. It gives a large bit of Cheapside, from before Wood St to past Milk St, with the procession in the foreground, and the Cross and Standard, and shows admirably the old houses, with each story projecting over the lower, the windows filld with citizens, their usually open shops below, boarded up and covered with hangings, the shop-signs sticking out on poles from the first floor. Nichols says, p. 31 n., that this and the [engraving from the burnt] picture at Cowdry of the procession of Edw. VI through the City on the day before his coronation, are the only views left of old London before the fire (excepting Wyngreder's, Smith's (Sloane MS. 2596), and Braun's, with Aggas's map, &c.).

⁵ Harrison gives the stages of only the Oxford-London part of one of Shakspeare's two roads to London, p. 248, col. i., ed. 1587:—

"From London to Uxbridge or Colbrooke	15. mile[s]
From Uxbridge to Baccansfield*	7. miles
From Baccansfield to east Wickham †	5. miles
From Wickham to Stocking church	5. miles
From Stocking church to Thetisford ‡	5. miles
From Thetisford to Whatleie §	6. miles
From Whatleie to Oxford	4. miles "

Ogilby gives the whole other road to Stratford, through Uxbridge, Chalfont, Amersham, Great Missenden, Wendover, Aylesbury, East Claydon, Buckingham, Shroughton, Banbury, Drayton (over Edge Hill), Nether Pillerton, and Upper Easington.

Mr Wheatley, who has lately walkt the Stratford-Oxford bit—over Clopton's Bridge, thro' Shipston, Long Compton, and Woodstock,—says the road is very

* Beaconsfield. † East or High Wycombe (or Chipping (Market) Wycombe).
‡ Tetsford. § Wheatley.

pil'd from Norden's maps, Ogilby's Roads, &c. Mr Halliwell will, I hope, soon produce his monograph on these routes, for which he says he has many very interesting details and drawings. Meantime, our friend and member Mr Henry B. Wheatley, long a student of London ancient and modern, has kindly drawn up the "Notes on Norden's Map of London, 1593," which form the Third Appendix to these Forewords. The Second contains some interesting extracts about English folk from Hentzner, Estienne Perlin, and Mr Brenchley Rye's authorities in his *England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Queen Elizabeth*, a book that all our Members should buy.

§ 9. The pleasant duty remains of thanking my helpers in this book: Mr Viles, who was to have edited it with me when its publication was first resolv'd on for the Early English Text Society, who lent his copy of the first edition of 1577 for collation with my second of (1586 or) 1587, and who drew up the Comparative Table of Book I., p. xlv;—Mr W. M. Gibbs for making that collation, and Miss L. Toulmin Smith for verifying it; Dr R. C. A. Prior (author of the admirable *Popular Names of British Plants*, 2nd ed. 1870), for his notes on the names of trees and plants; Colonel Chester, for his will of Harrison, &c.; Mr Rye for letting me quote his translations; the Dean of Windsor and Doctor Scott; Mr Hooper, for the trouble he has taken about Norden's map, and Mr H. B. Wheatley for his comment on it.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill,
London, N.W., 13 July, 1876.

P.S. If any readers can send me Notes and illustrative extracts for *Harrison*, I hope they will. When our Shakspeare's-England Series is complete, or has a fairly long set of books in it, I hope some Members 'll volunteer to make an Index to the whole, like that most useful one to all the Parker Society's books. We could have a volume of Notes to the whole too. Meantime each book 'll be indext separately.

pretty. So is all the Wycombe and Beaconsfield part, which I've known from boyhood, my uncle having liv'd near Wycombe, and then at Finchers near Misenham and Amersham.

Comparative Table of the Chapters of Book I. in the two editions
of Harrison's *Description of Britaine* (by Ed. VILES).

Ed. 1577. (Heads of Chapters.)		Ed. 1586 or 1587. (The Table.)	
CHAP.	LINES	CHAP.	LINES
I. Of the scituation and quantitie of the Isle of Britayne.	100	1. <i>Of the diuision of the whole earth.</i>	160
II. Of the auncient names of this Islande.	228	2. Of the position, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.	130
III. What sundry Nations haue inhabited in this Islande.	200	3. Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.	300
IV. Whether it be likely that there were euer any Gyaunts inhabiting in this Isle or not.	345	4. What sundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.	440
V. Of the generall Language vsed from time to time in Britaine.	180	5. Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.	675
VI. Into how many Kingdomes the Isle of Britaine hath bene deuided at once in olde time.	340	6. Of the languages spoken in this Iland.	312
VII. Of the auncient Religion vsed in this Islande from the comming of Samoths vnto the conuersion of the same vnto the faith of Christ.	1000	7. Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath bene diuided.	450
VIII. Of the number and names of such salt Islands as lye dispersed rounde about vpon the coast of Brytaine.	1700	8. <i>The names of such kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.</i>	300
IX. Of the rysing and falles of such ryuers and streames, as descende into the sea without alteration of their names, and first of those that lye betweene the Thames and the Sauerne.	1650	9. Of the ancient religion used in Albion.	1500
X. Of the Sauerne streame, and such falles of ryuers us go into the Sea, betweene it and the Humber.	1300	10. Of such Ilands as are to be seene upon the coasts of Britaine.	2325
XI. Of such Riuers as fall into the Sea betweene Humber to the Thames. [See chap. 16 opp.]	1100	11. <i>Of riuers, and first of the Thames and such riuers as fall into it.</i>	1150
XII. Of the foure hye wayes sometyme made in Brytaine, by the Princes of this Lande. [See ch. 19, p. xlv.]†	260	12. Of such streames as fall into the Sea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.	2325
		13. The description of the Sauerne and such waters as discharge themselves into the same.	530
		14. Of such waters as fall into the sea in compasse of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.	3075
		15. <i>The description of the Humber or Isis, and such water-courses as doo increase hir chanell.</i>	1080
		16. Of such fals of waters as ioine with the sea betweene Humber and the Thames.	1200

CONTENTS OF HARRISON'S DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN. NOTE. xlv

CHAP.	Ed. 1577.	LINES	CHAP.	Ed. 1586 or 1587.	LINES
			17.	<i>Of such ports and creeks as our sea-faring men doo note for their benefit vpon the coasts of England.</i>	100
XIII.	Of the ayre and soyle of Britaine.	360	18.	Of the aire soile, and commodities of this Iland.	525
			19.†	Of the foure high waies sometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.	300
XIV.	Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Brytaines.	120	20.	Of the generall constitution of the bodies of the Britons.	240
XV.	How Britayne grew at the first to be deuided into three portions.	120	21.	How Britaine at the first grew to be diuided into three portions.	115
XVI.	That notwithstanding the former diuision made by Brute vnto his children the souereigntie of the whole Islande remained still to the prince of Lhoegres and his posteritie after him.	1800	22.	After what manner the souereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.	260
XVII.	Of the wall sometime buylded for a partition betweene Englande and the Pictes.	130	23.	Of the wall sometime buylded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.	150
			24.	<i>Of the maruels of England</i> (ch. 18, bk. II. 1577)	380
		Total lines			Total lines
		10,933			18,022
In Ed. 1577, bk. I. comprises 17 chaps. or 10,933 lines.					
"	1586, " "	24	"	18,022	"

Harrison, p. 300, 305, 343, 242. Massinger, in his *Guardian*, II. iv, gives his list of enemies to the commonwealth in 1633. Severino's articles for the *Banditti* are :—

The *cormorant* that lives in expectation
Of a long wish-for dearth, and, *smiling, grinds*
The faces of the poor, you may make spoil of ;
Even theft to such is justice
The grand *encloser of the commons*, for
His private profit or delight, with all
His herds that graze upon 't, are lawful prize . . .
. If a *usurer*,
Greedy, at his own price, to make a purchase,
Taking advantage upon bond or mortgage
From a prodigal, pass through our territories,
In the way of custom, or of tribute to us,
You may ease him of his burthen . . .
Builders of iron-mills, that grub up forests,
With timber trees for shipping . . .
The *owners of dark shops*, that vent their wares
With perjuries ; *cheating vintners*, not contented
With half in half in their reckonings, yet cry out,
When they find their guests want coin, " 'Tis late, and bed-time " :
These ransack at your pleasures.

On the other men, those to be left untoucht, he says :—

scholars,

Whose wealth lies in their heads, and not their pockets ;
Soldiers that have bled in their country's service ;
The rent-rackt *farmer*, needy *market-folks* ;
The sweaty *labourer*, *carriers* that transport
The goods of other men, are privileged . . .

APPENDIX I.

HARRISON'S *CHRONOLOGY* EXTRACTS.

APPENDIX II.

HENTZNER EXTRACTS, &c.

APPENDIX III.

MR WHEATLEY'S NOTES

ON NORDEN'S MAP OF LONDON, 1593.

APPENDIX I.

EXTRACTS FROM HARRISON'S *CHRONOLOGIE*.

THE titles to vol. ii, iii, or Parts II, III, referred to on p. v, note 1, are, Vol. ii, or Part II : "**The hexameron or worke done in those sixe daies** wherein the worlde was created & furnished, by the worde of the Lorde / vnto *which* I adde the first Sabaoth as the vijth."

Vol. iii or Part III : "**The third part of this Chronologie Conteyning a iust periode** of time, bitwene the birth of Christ *our* saviour, & manifest apparauns of the man of sinne, who beganne to shoue himself about the conquest of England by the Normans, having thetherto shrowded himself as a foxe, in secrete ; but from thensforth appearing in his colours, he practizeth to bring all thinges vnder his subiection, not onely by craft and crueltie, but now & then with more then Pharaonically tyrranny, as shalbe sene in the next volume / Of this coming of *our* Saviour Christ, Seneca sometime said thus : '*procrebuerat oriente toto vetus & constans opinio esse in fatis, vt eo tempore a Judea profecti rerum summa potierentur,*' wherein he yeldeth to the time, althoughe he halt in the matter secured by the Jewes."

The heading opposite the first leaf of vol. iv, or Part IV of Harrison's *Chronology*, is, "**The fourth and last part of the Chronology, Conteyning** the periode of time from the comming of the Normans vnto the yere of expectation, which is of grace 1588. expired, wherin the age of the world Ronnneth all by fire, And whereof I finde these verses written in older times, & brought to light by *Johannes Regiomontanus* :

'Post mille expletos a partu virginis Annos,
Et post quingentos rursus ab orbe datos,
Octuagesimus octavus, mirabilis annus
Ingruit ; is *secum* tristia fata trahet,
Si non hoc anno totus malus occidit orbis,
Si non in nihilum terra fretumque ruant,
Cuncta tamen mundi sursum ibant atque deorsum
Imperia, et Luctus undique grandis erit.'

Or thus out of Cip. Leovitiuſ :

'Mille Salutis agat quingentos mundus et annos
Octavus decies, bisque quaternus eat,
Et tibi vel mundi ruitura notabitur ætas,
Omnia vel miris cladibus acta cadent.'

See the first set of lines in my note 2, p. 151, of *The New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1875-6, on this dangerous year, 1588, when most terrible events were to happen, even if the world wasn't to come to an end. But, as Gabriel Harvey said, "The wonder was, no wonder fell that yere."

From the *Chronologie* I take a few extracts¹ as to home matters, leaving the larger ones of the world's history for the Camden Society to print, if it will :—

Glanville, Langland.

1370. **Diuers** Lerner English men do flourish in these daies, as Jhon Stafford Bartholomew Glandevil also, of the race of the dukes of Suffolke, writeth his boke 'de proprietatibus rerum,' 'de rerum accidentibus, de sanctis de mundo et cœlestibus,' his 'postelles' & his 'sermons;' Robert Langland also, & William Rede the profound astronomer & bishop of Chichester do also live & write; & with them Jhon Killingworth & Simon Bredon, very skilfull men in the mathematicalles, & sometime fellowes of Merton² College in Oxford with William Rede, as were also Philip Repingdoun & Jhon Ashedon. . . .

Chaucer.

1401. **Geffray** Chaucer esquire, & the most excellent poete of his time, writeth his epistle of Cupide,³ & sone after endeth his life. How well he was beloued of king Richard, the gift of his pencion of 20^l & a tonne of wine to be chosen for him yerely during his life by the kinges cheef butler, anno 22, onely in respect of his lerning and poesies, do esily declare. King Henry the 4th added hereunto 40 markes in the first of his reigne. Vnto Jhon Gower, the said Henry also gaue two pipes of wine & 20^l yerely during his life, not only in consideration of his lernerd trauaill in poetry, but also of his profound skill in musike; & euen so had Jhon Harding the Chronicler, 20^l yerely during [the] life of Henry the 6 / & so moche also of his successor Ed. 4. . . . (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 527-8.)

¹ I put capitals to the proper names, &c. of the MS.

² See p. xi, note 3. This again looks as if Harrison was at Merton. Where else could he have had Rede's 'Collections'?

³ The poem extant with this title, isn't Chaucer's. 1401 should be 1400.

Anne Boleyn.

1531. **King** Henry marieth *the* Lady Anne Bolleyn vpon the 14 of November, *which* Lady liued with him in a daungerous season, having Quene Catherine & her frendes, her predecessor, her deadly enemies, the clergy her extreme aduersaries, because of her religion, for she was a Lutherane, & finally *the* most parte of the nobility her foes, because they could not digest of *the* diuorse of y^e king from his first wife, & therefore no merueill *that* she came to a violent end. he *that* penned the act of her attcindre ware a shaven crowne, & therefore no merueill *that* it was so odious & virulent, as was also her exemption, performed by a butcherly miser. . . .

1532. **Vpon** the first of June, being sondaie (or whit sondaie) *the* king of England causeth his wife quene Anne to be solemnly crowned at London, to *the* great displeasure of *the* clergy, who feared *the* ouerthrow of their whole religion by her meanes, because she was altogether geuen to the reading & stodie of *the* scriptures & soche treatizes as Luther, Oecolampadius, Zwinglius had set furth. it is left in certaine & sound record *that* her almes, within *the* space of 9 monethes, amounted to 15000^l sterling, so gretly was she bent to *the* succour & releef of *the* pore, & soche as were in trouble for *the* Gospell (*Stowe*, ed. 1605, p. 953-7.)

Harrison's birth.

1534. **The** Author of this boke is borne, vpon *the* 18 of Aprill, hora 11, minut 4, Secunde 56, at London, in Cordwainer streete, otherwise called 'bowe lane' in *the* [*crosst thro'*: house next to *the* holly lambe toward chepeside in *the*] parish of St Thomas the Apostle.

King Henry 8 polleth his hed; after whom, his household & nobility, with *the* rest of his subiectes do *the* like, in this 9th Jubile *which* is holden also at this season /

Anne Boleyn at the Tower.

1535. Anne, quene of England, is accused, condemned, & executed, within *the* space of 14 daies, her execution being performed vpon *the* 19 of maie, & *the* king mourning for her in white / ere long also he marieth *the* Lady Jane, daughter to Sir Jhon Seymour knight, & one of her maides, by whome he had issue, prince Edward *that* succeeded him in *the* kingdome. When Quene Anne came first prisoner to *the* towre, she was brought thether by *the* duke of Norffolke, who delt very roughly with her, in so moche *that* when she came out of her barge, to take *the* land, & loked after her, who should take vp her traine (*which* service no body

tendered) & therefore was moued to staie, *that* she might take it vp her self, he called to her, & bad her come awaie, wishing *that* she had neuer bene borne, *with* other speche vttered in *the* grosest maner, & then went furth vnto *the* bridge, where she staied againe, & with sigheing teares said thus vnto *the* duke: 'hether I came ones, my Lord, to fetch a crowne imperiall; but now, to receaue, I hope, a crowne immortal. *The* Lord forgeue *the* causers of my ruine; for in truth it is my gaine, thoughte to the world it maie seeme to be my hinderauns; & howsoever you Judge of me, my Lord, yet shall I die *your* lawfull quene, & true spouse vnto *the* king my husband.' . . .

English Bible. Parish Registers.

1537. **The** great english bible is printed & finished in Paris, notwithstanding *that the* frenche king did hinder it to his powre, confiscating 2500 of them, to *the* gret losse of soche as bare *the* charges . . .

Commaundement is geuen thorow out *the* Land *that* euery parishe churche shall haue a register booke wherein *the* names of soche as are baptized, married, & buried, shalbe registered. & sone after *the* Abbay of S^t Augustine in Cauntorbury is suppressed, & *the* priory of Christes-churche there also, where the commissioners found his [St Augustine's] bones & scull, *which* were burned by the commaundement of *the* Lord Cromwell in *the* same Churche, & *the* monkes inforced to chaunge their habites, or els to departe from thens / . . .

The great Englishe Bible is presented to king Henry *the* 8, who authorizeth *the* same to be redde of all his subiectes. sone after, another translation is rendered vnto him by the Lerne Coverdale, with desire also *that* it might be published; wherupon *the* king committed it to *the* perusall of diuers bishops, who, making no hast withall, kept it so long in their handes, till *the* king being put in minde thereof, called for the booke, & then demaunding how they liked thereof, whether there were any faultes escaped, or heresie conteined, therin, they answered *that* their were many faultes escaped therin. 'Yea,' quoth the king, 'I am informed alredy *that* the printer hath not done his duty; but is there any heresie in it?' 'No, & it maie like your grace,' said they. 'Then let it goe abroade in Goddes name,' said *the* king, 'for our people haue nede of many soche bokes; & one translation maie proue an helpe vnto another, where cometeries be wanting.' thus *the* bishops justified *that which* they hated, & were authors of *the* publication of *that which* they themselues mis-liked; but in mine opinion I am perswaded *that* they did neuer peruse it. /

Pronunciation of Greek.

1541. Great trouble in the Vniuersities of England about the pronounciation of the Greke tounge. m^r William Cecill, afterward Sir William Cecill & lord highe Threasurer of England, m^r Jhon Cheke, afterward Sir Jhon Cheke, & m^r Thomas Smithe, afterward Sir Thomas Smithe, & other of the lerned sort, mainteining the new pronounciation vsed by Erasmus, as the most auncient, easie, & familier, to attaine vnto the true writing or orthographie of that language. against these, Doctor Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester & chancellour of the vniuersity of Camebridge, opposeth himself,—a man not greatly seene in that tounge,—& vpon complaint made by the oldest sort of studentes, in defence of the old pronounciacion, imprisoneth, expelleth, disgradeth, & ponisheth the stúdent^{es} there, very greuously, till order was taken wherby, vnto our times, the new pronounciation was not onely permitted, but in time so allowed of, that the old is not now so moche as scascely knowen nor hard of in any of them bothe. Doctor Camus, the phisicien, semeth not to like of this chaunge, in his description of Cambridge, when, in reproche, he calleth Sir Jhon Cheke 'Cecum ludimagistrum', & Sir Thomas Smithe 'insanum consiliarum' &c. alas, a pore revenge to procede from soche a clerke as he; see 1550 for soche another brall in Fraunce. . . . [I don't see any such entry.]

Harrison at St Paul's School.

1544. Vpon the 18 of October, the Letany in thenglish tounge is, by the kinges commaundement, song openly in Pawles at London; & commaundement geuen that it should be song in the same tounge thorow out all England. it was vsed in London, in some parish church, euen sithens June in the yere expired; & the children of Pawles schole, whereof I was one at that time¹, inforced to buy those bookes, wherewith we went in generall procession, as it was then appointed, before the king went to Bullen [Boulogne]. (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 988.)

Brothels put down.

1545. The Stewes & publike bordell houses about London & in other places of England, are abolished, & so continue vntill the time of Quene Mary; in whose daies, some of the Clergy made labour to haue them

¹ As Cordwainer St is so near St Paul's School, and Harrison in 1544 was only 10 or 11, he may well have been at this school before going to Westminster. But Mr Lupton of St Paul's School warns me that Harrison may refer to the school of the Cathedral, which was older than, and different from, the present 'St Paul's School' founded in 1512-18 (Carlisle).

restored againe ; & were very likely to haue obtained their sute if she had liued a while longer ; soche trees, soche frute : ' for *the* stewes,' saith one of them in a sermon made at Paules crosss, ' are so necessary in a comon welth, as a iaxe in a mannes house : ' his name I spare, sith it shall suffice *that* it beginneth with *the* same letter *that* papa dothe / . . .¹

Priests' Children.

1550. *Priestes* Children are made legitimate by acte of parliament in England, *which* were *neuer* found illegitimate by any the like authority ; but this Act was repealed by generall wordes in the time of Quene Mary, & is not as yeat revived ; nether is it gretly necessary, sithe we in *our* time do refuse to be anointed & shaven preestes, as these were whose mariages onely are inhibited by the pope ; moreouer it is no necessary sute in *our* daies that *our* children should be made legitimate by mannes law, who, by the law of God, are so lawfull as those of other men of any other vocation ; besides this, *euen* by the pontificall Canons wee are reputed but for Laie men ; & why should we then sew as the popes clerkes, to have *our* children no bastardes. [See *Forewords*, p. xiii.]

A Sacrilegious Sow. Protestant Oysterboards.

1552. Vpon the 23 of August, *the* highe altar of Christes church in Oxforde was trimly decked vp after *the* popish maner ; & about the middest of *euen*song, a sow cometh into *the* quire, & pulled all to the ground ; for *which* heinous fact, it is said that she was afterward beheaded ; but to that I am not *pruic*. It is a world to see also, how redy the Catholikes were to cast the communion tables out of their churches, *which* in derision they called 'Oysterbordes,' & to set vp altars wheron to saie masse. & no lesse busie were our clergy & lawyers, of their owne motion, & without law, to blot *the* title of supremacy out of her majesties stile ; whereat some of them in *our* time can take aduantage to their owne benefite, as nothing that was done being of force wherein *the* title was so altered, or before it was remoued by authority of *the* parliament &c. / . . .

Sleidan. Harrison's opinion of Surius, &c.

1555. *Thon* Sleidane, the lerned historiographer, made an end of his

¹ Under 1545 Harrison says, " In this yere also good fridaie fell on St Georges daie, & I do well remember it."

Under 1552, when entering the Three great Marriages, in June, of the Duke of Suffolk's three daughters : Lady Jane Grey to Lord Guildford Dudley ; Lady Catherine Grey, her sister, to Lord Herbert ; and Lady — Grey, the youngest sister, to Lord Hastings, Harrison says, " 1587, when I did write this note." Under 1551 he puts " Leland ye noble antiquary dieth of a phrenesy vpon ye 18 of Aprill."

daies vpon *the* 31 of October passed ; whose history, Gropper & Billicus haue offered to confute ; but they must tarry till this generacion be consumed, lest otherwise they maie happen to be taken for impudent liers. Surius also barketh at many thinges in his booke, but as yet he hath not absolutely condemned any one of error, notwithstanding *that* he braggeth to haue found not one lesse then 12000 lies in *the* bodie of *that* historie ; but I suppose *that* Surius neuer nombred *the* periodes of his Chronicle. as for his owne addition to Naclerus, it is soche a Chaos, & so tempered with phrenesy & Meloncholy, *that* whoso readeth it with indifferent iudgement, shall sone find his humour, & conclude, *that* in all *that* supplement, he neither regardeth truth nor honesty. . .

Dearth and Sickness in England.

1556. Dearth in England, wherein wheat is worthe liij sh: iiij d *the* quarter ; malt, beanes, Rie, at 40 sh: ; & peasen at 46 shillinges ; but after harvest, wheate was sold for 5 shillinges *the* quarter, malt at a noble, Rie at 3 sh: 4 d. in London ; & therefore the price was not so highe in *the* country. . .

Soche was *the* plenty of Saffron in this yere, *that* the murmuring Crokers envieng the store, said in blasphemous *maner*, in & aboute Waldon in Essex,¹ that 'God did now shite saffron' ; but as some of them died afterward, starke beggers, so in 20 yeres after, there was so little of this Commodity, *that* it was almost lost & perished in England. . .

A generall sicknesse in England, where-of *the* third parte of *the* people of *the* land did tast ; & many clergymen had their desire, who, suspecting an alteration in religion to insue after *the* death of Quene Mary, & fearing to be called to accompt for their bloodshed made, & praotize of *the* losse of Calais, craved of God in their daiely praiers, *that* they might die before her ; & so they did ; *the* Lord hearing their praiers, & intending therby to geue his church a breathing time. . .

Harrison on Religious Hatred.

1560. The French Protestantes are exiled out of Frankeford, Aprilis 23, onely for *that*, in doctrine, they did not agree with Luther, the Augustane confession, pacification at Wittenberg, & reconciliation made at Frankeford : a slender cause, God wote ! If it be well examined, you shall find it a thing onely diuised, thereby to put their brethren to incumbrances. But when I consider what hatred *the* Lutheranes do bere vnto *the* Calvinistes, & *the* Precisians to *the* Protestantes, I can liken the same to nothing better then that mallice which reigneth betwene the papistes & *the* gospellers. . .

¹ See as to this, Bk 3, my Pt 2, of the *Description of England*, & Grenville MS. LV.

The Spire of St Paul's struck by Lightning.

1560. The Rooffe, with the Spire & steeple of Paul'es church in London, is consumed to ashes, Junij 4, by lightning. Certes the topp'e of this Spire, where the wethercocke stode, was 520 foote from the ground, of which the spire was the one halfe. the bredth of the church also, saith Stow, is 130 foote, & the length 2690, or 836 yardes, 2 foote, at this present. Also an earthquake is felt in the kingdome. . (Stowe, p. 1095.)

Queen Elizabeth at Oxford. "Palamon and Arcite."

1565. The Queene of England beginneth hir progresse, & vpon the 31 of August cometh to Oxford, where she visiteth eche college after other, & making an oration vnto them in Latine, as she had done in Cambridge two yeres passed, to the gret comfort of all soche as are, or had bene, studentes there. During her being there also the Academicall exercises were holden as in their vsuall termes. Diuerse Commedies & plaies also were set forthe by the studentes of Christes Church, where her Majestie lodged; but of all the rest, onely that of "Arcite & Palamon"¹ had a tragicall successe; for, by the fall, of a walle & wooden gallery that leadeth from the staires vnfinished to the hall, diuers persons were sore hurt, & 3 men killed out right, which came to behold the pastimes. [This paragraph takes up seven lines, and 1½ inch of the height, of Harrison's MS.; so close is the writing.]

Evils of Plays and Theatres².

1572. Plaies are banished for a time out of London, lest the resort vnto them should ingender a plague, or rather disperse it, being alrede begonne. Would to god these comon plaies were exiled for altogether, as semenaries of impiety, & their theaters pulled downe, as no better then houses of baudrie. It is an euident token of a wicked time when plaiers wexe so riche that they can build³ suche houses/ As moche I

¹ Compare the later, and no doubt distinct, *Two Noble Kinsmen* by Shakspeare and Fletcher.

² See the notes on Theatres in Appendix II below; also the notes to John Lane in my Tell-Trothe volume.

³ Unless this can be shown to have been written later, it must modify Mr Halliwell's argument and statement, in his *Illustrations*, p. 36, 42, against the early theatres and houses—those before "*The Theatre*" (Burbage's) in 1576—being "built" for play-acting. He says, p. 36, "In Northbrooke's Treatise, 1577-8, Youth asks,—'doe you speake against those places also whiche are made uppe and builded for such playes and enterludes, as the Theatre and Curtaine is, and other suche lyke places besides?' By 'other suche lyke places,' that is, similar places, the writer perhaps alludes [or perhaps does not] to houses or taverns in which interludes were performed, speaking of such buildings generally, the construction of the sentence not necessarily

wish also to our comon beare baitinges vsed on the sabaothe daies.¹

Tobacco.

1573. In these daies, the taking-in of the smoke of the Indian herbe called "Tabaco," by an instrument formed like a litle ladell, wherby it passeth from the mouth into the hed & stomach, is gretlie taken-vp & vsed in England, against Rewmes & some other diseases ingendred in the longes & inward partes, & not without effect/ This herbe as yet is not so comon, but *that* for want thereof diuers do practize for the like purposes with *the* Nicetian, otherwise called in latine, "Hyosciamus Luteus," or *the* yellow henbane, albeit, not without gret error; for, althoughe *that* herbe be a souerene healer of old vlcers & sores reputed incurable outwardly, yet is not *the* smoke or vapour thereof so profitable to be receaued inwardly. The herbe [Tobacco] is comonly of the height of a man, garnished with great long leaues like the paciens,² bering seede, colloured, & of quantity like vnto, or rather lesse then, the fine margeronie; the herbe it self yerely coming vp also of the shaking of the seede. the collour of the floure is carnation, resembling *that* of the

implying that he refers to other edifices *built especially* for dramatic representations." (Yet surely the fair and natural inference from the words is that the 'other lyke places' were built for the same purpose as 'the Theatre and Curtaine.') Again, at p. 42, "When Gosson, in his *Playes Confuted*, c. 1580, speaks of 'Cupid and Psyche plaid at Paules, and a greate many comedies more at the Blacke friers and in every playe house in London,' he unquestionably refers to houses or taverns temporarily employed for the performances alluded to." And, after quoting Rawlidge's *Monster Late Found out*, 1628,—"some of the pious magistrates made humble suit to the late Queene Elizabeth of ever-living memorie, and her Privy Counsaile, and obtained leave from her Majesty to thrust those players out of the City, and to pull downe the dicing houses; which accordingly was affected; and the play-houses in Gracious street, Bishopsgate street, nigh Paules, that on Ludgate hill, the Whitefriars, were put downe, and other lewd houses quite suppress within the liberties, by the care of those religious senators"—Mr Halliwell says, "The 'play-houses' in Gracious or Gracechurch Street, Bishopsgate Street, and on Ludgate Hill, were the yards respectively of the well-known taverns called the Cross Keys, the Bull, and the Belle Savage.* There is no good reason for believing that the other 'play-houses' mentioned, those near St. Paul's and in the Whitefriars, were, at the period alluded to, other than buildings made for the representation of plays, not edifices expressly constructed for the purpose."

¹ See Crowley's Epigrams on this, E. E. T. Soc. p. 17.

² *Passions* or *Patience*, a dock so called, apparently from the Italian name under which it was introduced from the South, *Lapasio*, a corruption of *L. lapathum*, having been mistaken for *la Passio*, the Passion of Jesus Christ, *Rumex Patientia*, L. Dr Prior, *Popular Names of British Plants*, p. 175.

* He quotes from Flecknoe's *Short Discourse of the English Stage*, 1664, "about the beginning of queen Elizabeths reign they began here to assemble into companies and set up theaters, first in the city, as in the inn-yards of the Cross-Keyes and Bull, in Grace and Bishopsgate street, at this day is to be seen."—*Illustrations*, p. 43.

lemmon in forme: *the roote yellow, with many fillettes, & therto very small in comparison, if you respect the substauns of the herbe.*¹

A monstrous fish.

1573. **A monstrous fish** is taken in Thenet vpon the xjth of July, of 66 foote in length; one of whose eies was a full cart lode, & the diameter or thickenesse thereof, full two yarde*s*, or 6 of our english feete. . . .

London Bridge Tower.

1576. **The towre** on the drawe bridge vpon london bridge is taken downe in Aprill, being in great decaie; & sone after made a pleasaunt & beautifull dwelling house / & whereas the heddes of soche as were executed for treason were wont to be placed vpon this towre, they were now remoued, & fixed *ouer the gate which leadeth from Southwarke*² into the citie by *that bridge*. . . .

A great Snowstorm.

1578. **A Cold winter**, & ere long there falleth a great snow in England, whose driftes, in many places, by reason of a Northe*st* winde, were so depe *that* the mere report of them maie seeme incredible. It beganne in the 4 of feb: & held on vntill *the 8* of the same moneth; during which time some men & women, beside cattell, were lost, & not heard of till the snow was melted & gone, notwithstanding *that* some shepe &

¹ The use of tobacco spread very fast in England, to the disgust of Barnaby Rich, James I., and many others. Rich, in *The Honestie of this Age*, 1614, p. 25-6, complains of the money wasted on it. He also contests the fact admitted by Harrison above, of tobacco doing good; says it's reported that 7000 houses live by the trade of tobacco-selling, and that if each of these takes but 2*s*. 6*d*. a day,—and probably it takes 5*s*.—the sum total amounts to £399.375 a year, "all spent in smoake."

"They say it is good for a cold, for a pose, for rewms, for aches, for dropsies, and for all manner of diseases proceeding of moyst humours: but I cannot see but that those that do take it fastest, are as much (or more) subject to all these infirmities (yca, and to the poxe itself) as those that have nothing at all to do with it. . . .

"There is not so base a groome that commes into an ale-house to call for his pot, but he must have his pipe of tobacco; for it is a commoditie that is nowe as vendible in every taverne, inne, and ale-house, as eyther wine, ale, or beare; and for apothicaries shops, grosers shops, chandlers shops, they are (almost) never without company that, from morning till night, are still taking of tobacco. What a number are there besides that doe keep houses, set open shoppes, that have no other trade to live by, but by the selling of tobacco!" See Sir John Davies's Epigram 'Of Tobacco, xxxvi.' (Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 268) singing its praises in 1598; and also that 'In Syllam, xxviii,' p. 267, on the boldness of the man who horrified 'society' then, "that dares take tobacco on the stage," 'dance in Paul's,' &c. (and contrast with him the capital description of a Gull in Epigram II, p. 263). Also the Epigram 'In Cipri-um, xxii,' l. 7, p. 266, col. 1.

² See heads stuck on the tops of spears on this bridge gate, in the modern copy of Wyngerde's map, the reproduced Aggas, Hondius (1610), in Faithorne, &c.

cattle lived vnder it, & fedd in the places where they laie, vpon soche grasse as they cold come by. Vpon the xjth also of that moneth, the Thames did rise so highe, after the dissolution of this snow, *that* westminster hall was drowned¹, & moche fishe left there in *the* pallace yard when *the* water returned to her Channell, for who so list, to gather vp. . .

Plagues of Locusts or Grasshoppers, and Mice.

1583. **Great** harme done in England in diuerse shires, by locusts, or 'grasshoppers' as we call them, *which* deuoured the grasse, & consumed the pastures & medowes in very pitifull maner: soche great nombres of crows also do come into those partes to fede vpon those creatures, *that* they tread downe & trample *the* rest, I meane, whatsoeuer the locust had left vntouched. Not long before, if not about this time, also some places of the hundredes in Essex were no lesse annoyed with mise, as report then went, *which* did gret hurt to corne & the fruites of the erth, till an infinite number of Owles were assembled into those partes, *which* consumed them all to nothing. Certes the report is true; but I am not sure whether it was in this, or the yere before or after this, for I did not enter the note when it was first sent vnto me, the *lettre* being cast aside, & not hard of after the receipt.

² Stafford's Conspiracy.

1586. **Another** Conspiracy is detected vpon Newyeres daie, wherein *the* death of *our* Queene is ones againe intended, by Stafford & other, at *the* receipt of her Newyeres giftes; but, as God hath taken vpon him the defence of his owne cause, so hath he, in extraordinary maner, from time to time preserued her *Majestie*, his servant, from *the* treason & traitorous practizes of her aduersaries, & wonderfully bewraied their diuises./

A Star in the Moon. A wet Summer and Autumn.

1587. **A Sterre** is sene in the bodie of *the* mone vpon the of *Marche*, wherent many men merueiled, & not without cause, for it stode directly betwene *the* pointes of her hornes, *the* mone being chaunged, not passing 5 or 6 daies before; & in *the* later end of *the* Crabbe after this, also there insued a very moyst & wet somer, wherby moche haie was lost, & harvest in *the* begining grew to be very troublesome. there followed also a like Autume; by meanes wherof, shepe & moche other cattell died

¹ flooded.

² Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, and not the William Stafford who wrote the *Compendious & briefe Examination*, 1581. See my Forewords to the Society's edition.

in abundant maner in most places of *our* Iland,¹ wherby the residew grew to be very dere . . . ('a reasonable good haruest for corne.'—*Stowe*, 1243.)

The first skonses are made in England vpon the borders of the Thames, & in other places of *the* land, to kepe *the* Spanish powre from entrauns, whose chief purpose is, as most affirme, to invade Kent with one *part* of their navie, & to come by the River of Thames to sacke London with *the* other / . . .

The Spanish Armada. Leicester's Death.

1588. The Spanish navie so long looked for, doth now at last show it self *ouer* against *our* coastes, vpon *our* 20 of July, where it is foughten withall vpon *the* morow, onely with 50 saile of *our* English shippes vnder *the* conduct of the lord Admirall & Sir Fraunces Drake; afterward by *our* whole navie of 150 saile, for the space of 2 daies together: in thend whereof, they are put to flight before Calice, & driven to returne home about by Scotland, with great losse, so *that*, of 160 saile & more, *which* came out of Spaine, scascely 40 returned againe in safety vnto *that* king; God himself so fighting for vs, that we lost not 80 *men*, neither was there so moche as one vessell of oures sonke by the enemy, or taken, in all these skirmishes. In their returne also, & beside those 15 vesselles *which* they lost in *our* seas, 17 other of them did either perish vpon the coast of Ireland, or, coming thether for succour, were seized vpon also vnto her *Majesties* vse. The lieftenaunt of this great navie was the duke Medina of Cydonia, & with him were 210 noble *men*, among *which*, beside the *kings* bastard sonne, were 2 *marquesses*, one prince, one duke, 4 *erles*, & 3 *Lordes*, *which* came to seeke aduentures, & winne honor vpon England, as they said; howbeit, as God would, they *neuer* touched the land, nor came nere vnto *our* shore by diuers miles. The duke of Parma should haue assisted them at this *present* with 80 or 100 saile provided out of the Low Countries; but being kept in by wether, & a portion of *our* navie, & his mariners also forsaking him, he was inforced to staie & kepe vpon the land, where he abode in safety, & out of the roring gunshot / (*Stowe's Annals*, 1605, p. 1243—1258.)

Robert, Erle of Leircester, dieth, who in his time became the *man* of grettest powre (being but a subiect) *which* in this land, or *that* *euer* had bene exalted vnder any prince sithens *the* times of Peers Gavestone & Robert Veer, some time duke of Ireland. Nothing almost was done, wherein he had not, either a stroke or a *commoditie*; *which*, together

¹ Will the memory of this do for the *Midsummer Night's Dream* contagious fogs, corn rotted (II. i. 88—100), and empty fold? The rain-floods of 1594 suit better, no doubt; see the end of my *Stafford* Forewords.

with his scraping from the churche & comons, spoile of her maiesties thresure, & sodeine death of his first wife &c. procured him soche inward envie & hatred, that all men, so farre as they durst, reioysed no lesse outwardlie at his death, then for the victorie obtained of late against the Spanish nauie / . . . (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 1259.)

A generall thanksgeuing thorow out England in euery church, for the victory of the Allmightie geuen by thenglish ouer the Spanish navie; in which, the Queene her selfe, & her nobility, came to S^t Pauls churche in London, November the 19, where, after she had hard the divine service, & in her owne person geuen solemne thanks to God, in the hering of soche as were present, she hard the sermon at the Crosse preached by the bishop of Sarum, & then dined with the bishop of London in his pallace thereunto annexed. The kinges of Scotland, Denmarke, Sueden, Navarra, with the churches of Geneva & diuers other cities of Germany, had done the like also, a litle while before, in their churches, as we are credibly informed. The Spanierdes also, indeuoring to hide their reprochfull voiage from the eies of their comon people, do triumphe for their victory obtained ouer the Englishe nation, & send to the pope for a seconde million of gold, which he bound himself to geue them at their landing in England, they having alredy receaved the first at their departure from the Groyne in Maie past; but his intelligencers informed him, so that he kept his crownes at home / . . . (Stowe, p. 1260.)

The Mad Parliament.

1588. A parliament is holden in London, which some doe call "*the greene meting*," other, "*the madde parliament*," because it consisted, for the most part, of yong burgesses, picked out of purpose to serue some secrete turne against the state present of the clergy; of whome no tale was there left vntold, that might deface their condicion. In this assembly, billes were put vp, as it is said, which required that the ministry of England should be subiect to service in the warres, & called to appeare at musters, sizes, &c. as laie subiectes of the land; that they should prouide furniture of armour & munition, according to the seuerall valuation of their livinges; that eche of them should haue but one living, & be resident vpon the same; & that all impropriations in spirituall mens handes onely, should be restored to the churche, with other like diuises; but in thend, none of them all went forward; & right good cause; for hereby most churches should quickly haue bene without their pastor, the Collegiate & cathedrall houses (the chief marke whereat they shot) rellinquished, & some of the spirituality more charged then vj of the greatest of the nobility in the land, whose livinges are not valued in soche strict maner as those

are of *the* clergy, who also in this parliament are charged with a doble subsidie to be paid in 6 yeres. (Stowe's *Annals*, 1605, p. 1261.)

The Parliament of Feb. 1592-3.

[Last entry, in a very tottery hand, 2 months before Harrison's death or burial on 24 April 1593, six days after he'd ended his 59th year.]

1592. **A Parliament** beginneth at London, feb. 19 [1592-3], being mondaie / many men looke for many thinges at the handes of the congregates, chiefly the precisiens for the ouerthrow of bishops & all ecclesiasticall regiment, and erection of soche discipline as thei themselues haue prescribed / the Clergy also feared some stoppage of former lawes provided for the wel [?] paiment of their tithes / but all men expect a generall graunt of money, the cheef end, in *our* time, of the aforesaid Assemblies; *which* being obserued, the rest will sone haue an ende / In the very begining of this parliament, there were more then 100 of the lower house, returned for outlawes, I meane, so well of knightes as of burgesses, & more are daiely loked for to be found in like estate / but is it not, thinke you, a likely matter, *that* soche men can be authors of good lawes, who, for their own partes, will obey no law at all? How gret frendes the precisiens in ther practizes are to these men, the possession of their desire wold esily declare, if thei might ones obtaine it. [*a later entry: the Parliament broke up on April 10, 1593,¹ a fortnight before Harrison's death.*] neuerthelesse, in the vpshot of that meting, it was found, *that* notwithstanding the money graunted—which was well nigh yielded vnto, in respect of *our* generall necessitie—there were so many good profitable lawes ordeined in this parliament as in any other *that* haue passed in former times, the mallicious dealinges also of the precisians, papistes, & comeling [?] *provokers*² was not a litle restraigned in the same, to the gret benefite of the country.

[‘The rest is silence.’]

¹ “The 10. of Aprill the Parliament brake vp at Westminster, for the time, wherein was granted three subsidies of 2.s. 8.d. the pound goods, and foure s. lands, and 6. fifteenes.”—Stowe's *Annals*, ed. 1605, p. 1272. (A good ‘Oration of her maesty to the parliament men’ follows.)

² MS. corrected. I'm not sure of either word. ‘*Comeling*’ is Harrison's word for ‘foreigner’; ‘*homeling*’ for ‘native.’ Can't we revive ‘em? They're a nice pair.

APPENDIX II.

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|---|--|
| <p>1. <i>English Women and Men</i>, p. lxii
 2. <i>Manners of the English</i>, p. lxv
 <i>(Inns, p. lxx; Oxford students' life, p. lxxiii; Queen Elizabeth, and her Dinner at Greenwich, p. lxxv)</i>
 3. <i>Theatres</i>, p. lxxviii</p> | <p>4. <i>Soil, Climate, & Productions</i>, p. lxxxi
 5. <i>London</i>, p. lxxxiv
 6. <i>Cambridge and Oxford</i>, p. lxxxvi
 7. <i>Warwickshire</i>, p. lxxxviii</p> |
|---|--|

HERE are a few extracts from foreign travellers' journals, and other writers, that 'll help those who don't know 'em, to realize better, bits of Elizabethan life in England. It's pleasant to be told how 'mighty pretty' our women were, and that they'd all kiss and welcome Shakspeare, as a stranger (p. lxii), when he was introduc'd to 'em, as they did before, Erasmus, to his extreme delight.¹ One seems to get nearer to the Globe and Blackfriars too, when one knows that the apples, pears, nuts,² of the theatres of one's boyhood, were sold in Shakspeare's houses (p. lxxx),—that is, those in whose profits he shard,—much as their rudeness—as picturd in Malone's interesting *Historical Account of the English Stage* (Variorum Shakspeare, ed. 1821, vol. iii.)—differd from the elaborately appointed buildings of our own day. One likes to be made a looker-on at the Oxford students', and Queen Elizabeth's, dinners (p. lxxiii, lxxvii); the Berkshire peasants' harvest home (p. lxxxiv); and to hear how the Londoners liked feasting, and drank, saying *iplaigiu* (I pledge you) to the worthy Frenchman (p. lxxii), who when they put him out, calld 'em *ces vilains là*, and declar'd they were of evil conscience, and unfaithful to

¹ "here are girls with angels' faces, so kind and obliging that you would far prefer them to all your Muses. Besides, there is a custom here never to be sufficiently commended. Wherever you come, you are received with a kiss by all; when you take your leave, you are dismissed with kisses; you return, kisses are repeated. They come to visit you, kisses again; they leave you, you kiss them all round. Should they meet you anywhere, kisses in abundance: in fine, wherever you move, there is nothing but kisses."—(*Epistolæ*, fol. Basil. 1558, p. 223; *Rye*, p. 260-1.)

² They've been turnd out of the West-end theatres since—the women with their baskets pushing in front of the sitters in the pit, were *such* a nuisance,—but they still survive at the East end, I am told.

their word (p. lxvi). One right thing these foreigners did, however, and that was, to put Cambridge before Oxford (p. lxxxvi-vii). Our degenerate folk put Oxford first. Well, froth goes to the top of the jug. And this reminds me—35-years' teetotaller tho' I am—how the foreigners liked our beer, drunk (in 1558¹) out of silver-handled earthenware pots, and made doubly good by eating with it thin cakes, saffroned, and sprinkled with raisins (p. lxxi-lxxii).

1. a. English Women.

1585. Kiechel says, "Item, the women there are charming, and by nature so mighty pretty," as I have scarcely ever beheld, for they do not falsify (*ketzern*) paint or bedaub themselves as in Italy or other places; but they are somewhat awkward in their style of dress (*in der Kleidung was Plumps gehen*); for they dress in splendid stuffs, and many a one wears three cloth gowns or petticoats, one over the other. Item, when a foreigner or an inhabitant goes to a citizen's house on business, or is invited as a guest, and having entered therein, he is received by the master of the house, the lady, or the daughter, and by them welcomed (*willkommen heisst*),—as it is termed in their language;—he has even a right to take them by the arm and to kiss them, which is the custom of the country; and if any one does not do so, it is regarded and imputed as ignorance and ill-breeding on his part: the same custom is also observed in the Netherlands."—*Rye*, p. 89-90, from the '*Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegs-Kunst*' (4to, Wien, 1820), p. 267.

1592. Jacob Rathgeb, *Narrative of Count Mümpfelgart's Bathing Excursion to England*, pr. 1602. "The women have much more liberty than perhaps in any other place; they also know well how to make use of it, for they go dressed out in exceedingly fine clothes, and give all their attention to their ruffs and stuffs, to such a degree indeed, that, as I am informed, many a one does not hesitate to wear velvet in the streets, which is common with them, whilst at home perhaps they have not a piece of dry bread. All the English women are accustomed to wear hats upon their heads, and gowns cut after the old German fashion—for indeed their descent is from the Saxons."—*Rye*, p. 7, 8.

1. b. English Wives.

1575. Van Meteren, *Nederlandtsche Historie*; edit. 1614, fo. 258. *Rye*, p. 72, 73. "Wives in England are entirely in the power of their husbands, their lives only excepted. Therefore, when they marry, they

¹ The English had taken to glass by Harrison's and Shakspeare's time: see p. xviii above, and 147 below.

² mächtig schön.

give up the surname of their father and of the family from which they are descended, and take the surname of their husbands, except in the case of duchesses, countesses and baronesses, who, when they marry gentlemen of inferior degree, retain their first name and title, which, for the ambition of the said ladies, is rather allowed than commended. But although the women there are entirely in the power of their husbands, except for their lives, yet they are not kept so strictly as they are in Spain or elsewhere. Nor are they shut up; but they have the free management of the house or housekeeping, after the fashion of those of the Netherlands, and others their neighbours. They go to market to buy what they like best to eat. They are well dressed, fond of taking it easy, and commonly leave the care of household matters and drudgery to their servants. They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by.¹ In all banquets and feasts they are shown the greatest honour; they are placed at the upper end of the table, where they are the first served; at the lower end they help the men. All the rest of their time they employ in walking and riding, in playing at cards or otherwise, in visiting their friends and keeping company, conversing with their equals (whom they term *gossips*) and their neighbours, and making merry with them at child-births, christenings, churchings (*Kerckganghen*), and funerals; and all this with the permission and knowledge of their husbands, as such is the custom. Although the husbands often recommend to them the pains, industry, and care of the German or Dutch women, who do what the men ought to do both in the house and in the shops, for which services in England men are employed, nevertheless the women usually persist in retaining their customs. This is why England is called the Paradise of married women.² The girls who are not yet married are kept much more rigorously and strictly than in the Low Countries.

"The women are beautiful, fair, well-dressed, and modest,³ which is seen there more than elsewhere, as they go about the streets without any covering either of huke or mantle (*huycke*), hood, veil, or the like. Married women only wear a hat both in the street and in the house; those unmarried go without a hat,⁴ although ladies of distinction have lately learnt to cover their faces with silken masks or vizards, and

¹ "Sy sitten verciert voor haer Deuren, om de voorbygaenders te besien, ofte van die besien te worden."

² See p. lxx, below.

³ "Het Vrouwenvolck isser schoon, wit, ende verciert ende manierlijk."

⁴ When describing Queen Elizabeth, then "in the sixty-fifth year of her Age," Hentzner notes two traits common to her and other English women: "her Teeth black, (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar). . .

feathers,—for indeed they change very easily, and that every year, to the astonishment of many.”¹

1. c. The charmingness of Englishmen and all their Belongings.

1560. Dr Levinus Lemmius, M.A. “For they be people very civil and wel affected to men wel stricken in yeares, and to such as beare any countenance and estimation of lerninge, which thing they that halfe suspect, and have not had the full triall of the maners and fashions of this cuntry, will skarcely bee perswaded to beleewe.

“Therefore, franckely to utter what I thincke of the incredible curtesie and frendlines of speache and affability used in this famous realme, I muste needes confesse it doth surmount and carye away the pricke and price of al others. And beside this, the neate cleanlines, the exquisite finenesse, the pleasaunte and delightfull furniture in every poynt for household, wonderfully rejoyced mee; their chambers and parlours strawed over with sweete herbes refreshed me; their nosegayes finely entermingled wyth sundry sortes of fragraunte floures in their bedchambers and privy roomes, with comfortable smell cheered mee up and entirely delyghted all my sences. And this do I thinck to be the cause that Englishmen, lyving by such holosome and exquisite meate, and in so holosome and healthfull ayre, be so fresche and cleane coloured; their faces, eyes and countenance carying with it and representing a portly grace and comelynes, geveth out evident tokens of an honest mind; in language very smoth and allective, but yet seasoned and tempered within the limits and bonds of moderation, not bumbasted with any unseemly termes, or infarced with any clawing flatteries or allurementes. At their tables, although they be very sumptuous, and love to have good fare, yet neyther use they to overcharge themselves with excesse of drincke, neyther thereto greatly provoke and urge others, but suffer every man to drincke in such measure as best pleaseth hymselfe; whych drinck, being eyther Ale or Beere, most pleasaunte in taste and holosomely relised, they fetch not from foreine places, but have it amonge themselves brewed. As touching theyr populous and great haunted cities, the fruitfulness of their ground and soile, their lively springs and mighty ryvers, their great heards and flockes of cattell, their mysteries and art of weaving and clothmaking, their skilfulnes in shooting, it is needlesse heere to discourse—sceing the multitude of marchaunts exercisinge the traffique and

Her Bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it till they marry.” See p. lxxvi, below.

¹ “Note 112.—Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, 1622, p. 204), speaking of the French, our reputed pioneers of fashion, says: ‘Every *two* yeere their fashions [of apparel] altereth.’”—*Rye*.

arte of marchaundize among them, and ambassadoures also sente thyther from forrayne Prynces, are able abundantly to testifye that nothing needful and expedient for mans use and commodity lacketh in that most noble Ilande."—(*The Touchstone of Complexions*, fo. 47.) *Rye*, p. 78, 79. (The Doctor gives Englishmen a somewhat worse character afterwards; see it in *Rye*, p. 79, 80.)

1. d. *English Men and Women.*

1558. Perlin, p. 11. "Les hommes sont beaulx, rousseaux, grands, & adroit, & blancs ordinairement de charnvère ; car il sont vers le Septentrion. Les femmes estimées sont les plus belles du monde,¹ & blanches comme albatre, & ne desplaie aux Italianes, Flammandes, & Almandes : elles sont joyeuses, & courtoyses, & de bon recueil."—1558. *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse*. Composé par Maistre Estienne Perlin, repr. Bowyer and Nichols, 1775.

2. a. "Of the Manners of the English."

1598. Hentzner, p. 88. "The English are serious like the Germans, lovers of shew ; liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who wear their masters arms in silver, fastened to their left arms, a ridicule they deservedly lay under. They excell in dancing and music, for they are active and lively, though of a thicker make than the French ; they cut their hair close on the middle of the head, letting it grow on either side ; they are good sailors, and better pyrates, cunning, treacherous, and thievish ; above 300 are said to be hanged annually at London. Beheading with them is less infamous than hanging. They give the wall as the place of honour. Hawking is the general sport of the gentry. They are more polite in eating than the French, devouring less bread, but more meat, which they roast in perfection. They put a great deal of sugar in their drink. Their beds are covered with tapestry, even those of farmers. They are often molested with the scurvy, said to have first crept into England with the Norman conquest. Their houses

¹ "L'Angleterre produit trois objets qui se rencontrent partout, mais qui, dans cette île, sont remarquables par leur merveilleuse beauté : les femmes, les arbres, les chevaux. . . . Qu'une jeune fille arrête son cheval sous un grand arbre, et vous contemplerez, groupés dans un seul tableau, les trois merveilles de l'Angleterre."—1857. Francis Wey, *Les Anglais chez eux*, p. 185-6. And yet a great friend of mine in the United States, who had long admired our women as drawn in *Punch* by Du Maurier, and came over to England to admire them more, went back after a month's stay here on two occasions, vowing that he'd only seen one handsome woman all the time, eagerly as he'd lookt for 'em ; whereas in the States, he says, you can hardly go out of doors without seeing two or three. He hates Du Maurier in consequence, and declares he's a base deceiver. I urge that an artist, like a poet, 'is of imagination all compact.'

HARRISON.

are commonly of two stories, except in London, where they are of three and four, though but seldom of four ; they are built of wood ; those of the richer sort with bricks ; their roofs are low, and where the owner has money, covered with lead.

"They are powerful in the field, successful against their enemies, impatient of any thing like slavery ; vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells, so that it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise. If they see a foreigner, very well made or particularly handsome, they will say, *It is a pity he is not an ENGLISHMAN.*"

2. b. The English are a bad lot, and hate and abuse the French.

1558. Perlin, p. 12. "Le peuple fier & seditieux, & de mauuaise conscience, & infidelle à leur parole, comme il est appert par experience.¹ Ces vilains là hayent toutes sortes d'estrangeres ; & jaçois qu'il soyent en bonne terre & bonne contrée, comme desia j'ay allegué auparavant, toutes fois du tout sont mechans, & addonnées à tout vent² : car maintenant il aymeront un Prince : tournez la main ; il le voudront tuer & crucifier. S'ilz veulent dire qu'ilz ont subjugué les François, on les a chassés comme chiens enragés : secondement, le Royaulme de France poulors estoit petit, & depuis a esté augmenté sept fois autant, voyre je diray vingt fois autant, qu'en force, qu'en richesse ; tellement que le Royaulme vault autant que le reste de la chrestienté. Il me desplait que ces vilains, estans en leur pays, nous crachent a la face³ ; & eulx, estans à la France, on les honnore, & revère on comme petis dieux : en ce les François se monstrent francs de cœur & noble d'esprit."

p. 11. "Les gens de ceste nation hayent a mort les Francoys, comme

¹ On peult dire des Angloys, 'ny en la guerre ilz ne sont fors, ny en la paix ilz ne sont fideles ; &, comme dict l'Espagnol, "Angleterre, bonne terre, male gente."—p. 10. The latter saying is generally put down to the Italians.

² *Insolence to foreigners.* "The inhabitants are magnificently appparelled, and are extremely proud and overbearing ; and because the greater part, especially the trades-people, seldom go into other countries, but always remain in their houses, in the city attending to their business, they care little for foreigners, but scoff and laugh at them ; and moreover, one dare not oppose them, else the street-boys and apprentices collect together in immense crowds and strike to the right and left unmercifully, without regard to person ; and because they are the strongest, one is obliged to put up with the insult as well as the injury."—1592. Jacob Rathgeb, pr. 1602 ; *Rye*, p. 7.

³ And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the disposition of people, thei bee desirous of newfangles, praisying thynges paste, con-Englishmen. temnyng thinges present, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambitious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blaste of Winde.—1583. P. Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, 2nd ed., p. 122, ed. F. J. F.

leurs vielz ennemis, & du tout nous appellent '*France chenesue* [*knave*], *France dogue*,' qui est a dire, 'maraultz François, chiens Francois;' & autrement nous appellent '*or son*' [*whoreson*] 'villains filz de putains.'"

ib. p. 24. "& fault noter qu'en ce Royaume tant excellent, il n'y a nul ordre, comme j'ay dict. Les gens sont resprouvés, & du tout ennemis de bonnes meurs & des bonnes lettres. Car il ne sçavent a qui il sont, où a Dieu où au diable; ce que Sainct Paul a reprins en plusieurs gens, disant, 'ne sois transportés de plusieurs sortes de vens, mais soyes constans & demeurans a ce que vous aures creu.'"

2. c. *English Way of living. Nasty 'belching.'*

1558. Perlin, p. 26. "Quant a leurs maniere de vivre, ilz sont quelque peu incivilz; car iceux routent¹ à la table sans honte & ignominie, & fussent ilz en la presence de plus grand seigneur qu'il fust."

2. d. *Most Nobles get their Heads chopt off.*

p. 27. "Aussi en ce pays là vous ne trouverez pas gueres de grands seigneurs desquelz leurs parens n'ayent eu la teste tranchée. Certes j'aymerois mieulx (reverence des lecteurs) estre porcher, & garder bien ma teste. Car ceste doloire avoient furieusement dessus la teste des grands seigneurs. Car vous voires ces grandz seigneurs en grande pompe & magnificence pour un temps: tournez la main; vous les voyres entre les mains des boureaux. Parquoy ladessus pouvons alleguer un proverbe, qui dict: 'Que le temps passé ont esté plusieurs, que si fussent demourés humble, & en fortune basse & exile, ils eussent vécu seurement, & sans contrainte; estans faits sublimes, & grands seigneurs, sont

¹ Compare Chaucer's Trumpington Miller's wife and daughter:—

'His wyf bar him a burdoun, a ful strong,
Men might her rowtyng heeren a forlong,
The wenchè routeth eek *par companye*.'

Works, ed. Morris, ii. 130, l. 245-7.

and see my *Babes Book*, p. 294, l. 13; II. 4/32, 7/35, 18/46, 26/20, for injunctions against the practice. Nichols adds this note in his reprint of Perlin:

"A l'exception de certaines gens qui n'ont pas toujours croupi en Angleterre dans les pures & naturelles *Englis fashions*, dont les personnes de qualité qui ont voyagé ont su se defaire, *rotter* à table & partout en compagnie, est une chose dont le peuple Anglois ne fait pas plus de difficulté que de tousser ou d'éternuer. Autant que cela leur est naturel & ordinaire, autant nous paroît il étrange à nous qui venons d'un pais où la coutume a voulu que *rotter* soit un privilège réservé aux cochons. 'C'est une étrange chose que cette coutume!' (me disoit un jour un ami Anglois à qui j'avois dit naïvement ce que j'écris ici.) 'Elle bannit quelquefois les choses les plus raisonnables: pourquoi s'empêcher de *roter* plutôt que de cracher, & de se moucher?'—*Mémoires & Observ. d'un Voyageur en Angleterre*. Haye, 1698, p. 396, ascribed to Mison."

tumbés en perilz & en grande confusion' : ce que nous voyons practiquer principalement en ce Royaulme là, autant qu'en Royaulme de monde, [*then he contrasts with this the happier state of France, and says also*] sa Justice fort bien administrée, & non tyrannie, comme en Angleterre, qui est la peste d'un pays, & ruine."

2. e. *Men hung for a trifle in England.*

p. 28. "En Angleterre y a une fort cruelle justice, car pour un rien foront mourir un homme : car, où en France on condamneroit un homme d'avoir le fouet, là infalliblement seroit condamné a mort : vray est qu'ilz n'ont que deux sortes de justice, c'est à sçavoir, d'estre perdu & d'estre decapité ; & par ce moyen les malfaiteurs gaignent autant de faire beaucoup de mal que peu ; ce qui ne se doit pas faire ; & mieux est practiqué en France : car il y a plusieurs sortes de tourmens selon la demerite. En ceste Isle n'ont point de Roue ny d'autre sorte de tourmens sinon que ces deux que j'ay allegué. Font mourir les pauvres criminelz & patiens, tousiours hors de la ville en des gibetz de bois, si ce ne sont Milors barbarement en François Milours, lesquelz ont faict mourir à Londres, pour donner terreur au peuple. Et ont coustume de faire les grands jours¹ de troys mois en trois mois."—1558. *Description des Royaulmes d'Angleterre et d'Escosse*. Composé par Maistre Estienne Perlin, repr. Bowyer and Nichols, 1775, p. 28.

2. f. *Servants and almost all men go armed.*

1558. Perlin, p. 28. "& faut noter pareillement qu'au pays les serveurs portent des blouquiers pointuz, mesmes les serveurs des Evesques & prelatz ; & ordinairement les hommes jouent de l'arc. Les laboureux, quand ilz labourent la terre, à un coin de la terre ilz laisseront leur blouquier & espée, ou aucunesfoys un arc : tellement qu'en ce pays là, quasi tout le monde porte armes."

2. g. *The English use much tapestry.*

p. 11. "Les Anglois se servent fort des tapisseries, des toilles pinctes, qui sont bien faictes, ausquelles y a force de magnifiques roses couronnées, ou il y a de fleurs-de-Liz & Lions² ; car en peu de maisons vous poves entrer que vous ne trouvies cest tapisseries."

2. h. *Behaviour of the people on Edward VI.'s death.*

p. 13. "Il survint que le roy Edouart demourut malade au chasteau de

¹ He means the Quarter Sessions in the several counties.—*Nichols*.

² The arms of England.—*Nichols*.

Grenois [Greenwich] bien l'espace de trois mois, & depuis mourut. Vous eussies veu ce peuple emeu, fremir & gemir de touter pars, battre leurs poitrines : & alors tous les milors fort pertroublés, ne sachantz dessus quel pied dancier."

2. i. *English Dress, and love of change.*

1575. Van Meteren, *Nederlandtsche Historie*, edn. of 1614, fo. 262. "The English dress in elegant, light, and costly garments, but they are very inconstant and desirous of novelties,¹ changing their fashions every year, both men and women. When they go abroad riding or travelling, they don their best clothes, contrary to the practice of other nations. Their garments are usually coloured and of a light stuff, and they have not many of them, like as they have in the Low Countries, since they change so easily : nor so much furniture or unnecessary house ornaments."—*Rye*, p. 71.

2. j. *Retainers. Horses, Carts.*

1592. Rathgeb (written, 1602), *Rye*, p. 13. "The lords and pages of the royal court have a stately, noble air, but dress more after the French fashion, only that they wear short cloaks, and sometimes Spanish caps,

¹ See *Harrison*, ch. 7, p. 167 below ; and compare the following :—

But speake, I praie : who ist would gess or skann
Fantasmus to be borne an Englishman ?
 Hees hatted Spanyard-like, and bearded to,
 Ruft Itallyon-like, pac'd like them also :
 His hose and doublets Frenche : his bootes and shoes
 Are fashond Pole in heeles, but French in toes.
 Oh ! hees complete : what shall I descant on ?
 A compleate Foole ? noe, compleate Englishe man.

1615. Wm. Goddard, *A Neaste of Wasps*. Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 314. See also a capital passage in Schoolmaster Averall's *Merualous Cambat of Contrarieties*, 1588, sign. B. i., which I shall quote in my notes to Stubbes's *Anatomic of Abuses* now in the press for the Society.

Here is Sir John Davies' description of the London young man of fashion in 1598 : *Epigrams*, in Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 266, col. 1 :

IN CIPRIUM, XXII.

The fine youth Cyprius is more terse and neat
 Than the new garden of the Old Temple is ;
 And still the newest fashion he doth get,
 And with the time doth change from that to this ;
 He wears a hat now of the flat-crown block,
 The treble ruff, long cloak, and doublet French ;
 He takes tobacco, and doth wear a lock,
 And wastes more time in dressing than a wench.
 Yet this new-fangled youth, made for these times,
 Doth, above all, praise old George Gascoigne's rhymes

and not such broad hats as the French ; they keep many retainers, for the most part portly and good-looking men who go without cloaks, but have only jerkins of their lord's colour, and bearing his arms rolled up and buckled behind ; they likewise have the same arms upon their sleeves, so that they may be distinguished. And they are kept very strict, for if indeed they wish to run away they cannot, because no Englishman is allowed to go out of the kingdom without a passport ; wherefore other nations have a saying that ' England is a paradise for women, a prison for servants, and a hell or purgatory for horses,' for the females have great liberty and are almost like masters, whilst the poor horses are worked very hard. The country in the vicinity of the royal court is for the most part flat and sandy ; and because few succeed in finding accommodation at an inn, they erect tents under which they sojourn, thus presenting the appearance of an encampment.

" When the Queen breaks up her court, with the intention of visiting another place, there commonly follow more than 300 carts (*Kärch*) laden with bag and baggage ; for you must know that in England, besides coaches, they use no waggons for the goods, but have only two-wheeled carts, which however are so large that they carry quite as much as waggons, and as many as five or six strong horses draw them."—*Rye*, p. 13.

2. *k. English Inns.*

Fynes Moryson, the traveller, gives such a pleasant account of English inns in his *Itinerary*, 1617, Part 3, p. 151, that one likes to think of Shakspeare being received so well, and taking his case in his inn, on his journeys to London and back. Mr Rye of course has the passage, in his Notes, p. 272-3 :—

" the World affords not such Innes as England hath, either for good and cheape entertainment after the Guests owne pleasure, or for humble attendance on passengers ; yea, even in very poore villages. . . . For assone as a passenger comes to an Inne, the servants run to him, and one takes his horse, and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him and gives him meate, yet I must say that they are not much to be trusted in this last point, without the eye of the Master or his servant to oversee them. Another servant gives the passenger his private chamber, and kindles his fier ; the third puls of his bootes, and makes them cleane. Then the Host or Hostesse visit him ; and if he will eate with the Host, or at a common table with others, his meale will cost him sixe pence, or in some places but foure pence (yet this course is lesse honourable, and not used by Gentlemen') ; but if he will eate in his chamber, he com-

* Did Shakspeare 'eat with the Host'—and Hostess—for 6*d.* at old Davenant's Inn at Oxford, or have 'the Hostess to accompany him' in his chamber, I wonder.

mands what meate he will, according to his appetite, and as much as he thinkes fit for him and his company, yea, the kitchin is open to him, to command the meat to be dressed as he best likes ; and when he sits at Table, the Host or Hostesse will accompany him, or, if they have many Guests, will at least visit him, taking it for curtesie to be bid sit downe : while he eates, if he have company especially, he shall be offred musicke, which he may freely take or refuse ; and if he be solitary, the musitians will give him the good day with musicke in the morning. It is the custome, and no way disgracefull, to set up part of supper for his breakefast. In the evening or in the morning after breakefast, (for the common sort use not to dine, but ride from breakefast to supper time, yet comming early to the Inne for better resting of their Horses¹) he shall have a reckoning in writing, and if it seeme unreasonable, the Host will satisfie him either for the due price, or by abating part, especially if the servant deceive him any way, which one of experience will soone find. . . I will now onely adde, that a Gentleman and his Man shall spend as much as if he were accompanied with another Gentleman and his Man ; and if Gentlemen will in such sort joyne together to eate at one Table, the expences will be much diminished. Lastly, a Man cannot more freely command at home in his owne House, then hee may doe in his Inne ; and at parting, if he give some few pence to the Chamberlin and Ostler, they wish him a happy journey."

2. l. *Rain and Food.*

Perlin, p. 29. "Au port de mer de ce pays là, souventesfois il pleut, à cause des oraiges de la mer : & y faict fort bon vivre, selon ce que j'en ay congneu de mon temps : & cela suffira de Angleterre."

2. m. *Bread and Beer.* (See below, p. 153.)

p. 26. "Ilz usent du pain bien plus blanc que en la France, tellement qu'il estoit de mons temps en aussi bon marché qu'en France ; & avec leurs bieres ont coustume de user les gasteaux fort tendres, qui sont asses fermes ensafranés, dedans lesquelz il y a des raysins ; & cela vous faict trouver la biere double bonne ; & en ay bieu autresfois a la Rie, port de mer, d'aussi bonne que jamais j'en beu en pays du monde. Les gens de ce pays sont fort bien enmeublés en leurs maisons, aultant biens que gens de monde."

2. n. *Beer.* (See below, p. 155—160.)

"Ilz usent fort de bierre double & simple ; & la boyuent, non pas dedans des voirres,² mais dedans des potz de terre, ausquelz les anses sont

¹ Cp. Chaucer's ride to Canterbury. ² See Harrison, p. 147, on the change to glass.

d'argent, & le couvercle ; & cela ce fait aux maisons qu'il sont quelque peu riches. Car au pauvres les couvercles des potz de bierre ne sont que d'estain ; & en d'aucuns lieux dessus les villages, les potz de bierre ne sont que de boys."

2. o. *Beer.*

1592. Rathgeb, pr. 1602. . . . "the beer, which is of the colour of an old Alsace wine [hock], was so delicious that he [the Duke of Wirtemberg] relished it exceedingly."—*Rye*, p. 9.

2. p. *English love of good cheer.*

1558, Perlin, p. 22. "Les gens d'iceluy lieu sont de grande chere, & ayme fort a bancqueter ; & vous verries force riches tavernes, & les taverniers, qui ont coustumierement grosses bourses, ou il y a trois ou quatre bourserons plaine d'argent : par ce moyen pouvons considerir que le pays est fort argenteux, & que les gens du mestier gaignent plus en une sepmaine que ceulx d'Allemagne ou d'Espagne en un mois. Car vous verries des chappeliers & menuisiers artisans jouer leur escu à la paulme ordinairement ; ce que ne voyes pas en un autre lieu ordinairement, & principalement à un jour ouvrier. Et en une taverne faire grand chere plus souvent que tous les jours, avec connilz, leveraux, & toute sorte de viande. . . (p. 23) Le poisson est à grand marché, & le beurre. Car j'ay eu autresfois neuf playes [*plaise*] pour un denier ; mais fault entendre que le denier vault neuf tournois de France ou environ, & est appellée un *peni*." . . .

2. q. *English love of music and drink.*

Perlin, p. 23. "Les Angloys, les uns avec les autres, sont joyeux, & aiment fort la musique ; car ne scauroit estre si petite eglise, en laquelle on ne chante de Musique ; & sont fort grands yvrongnes : Car si un Anglois vous veult traicter, vous dira en son langage, '*vis dring a quarta rim* [*sic*], *oim gasquin*, *oim hespaignol*, *oim malvoysi*' c'est a dire 'veux tu venir boire une quarte de vin du Gascoigne, une autre d'Espagne, & une autre de Malvoisie.' En beuvant & en mangeant, vous diront plus de cent fois '*drind iou*,' c'est a dire, 'je m'en vois boyre a toy ;' & vous leur responderes en leur langage '*iplaigiu*,' qui est à dire 'je vous plege.' Si vous les remercies, vous leurs direz en leurs langages '*god tanque artelay*,' c'est a dire, 'je vous remercie de bon cœur.' Eulx estans yvre, vous jureront le sang & la mort, que vous beures tout ce que vous tenes dedans vostre tace ; & vous diront ainsi, '*bigod, sol drind iou agoud oin*.' Or retenes (s'il vous plaist) qu'en ceste terre ordinairement ont sert en veselle d'argent quand on boit du vin, &

vous diront ordinairement a la table '*goud chere*,' qui est à dire 'bonne chere.' Les serviteurs servent leurs maistres, nudz teste, & laissent leur bonnet dessus le buffet." . . .

2. r. *The Oxford Students' Life.*

1598. Hentzner, p. 64. "These Students lead a life almost monastic ; for as the monks had nothing in the world to do, but when they had said their prayers at stated hours, to employ themselves in instructive studies, no more have these. They are divided into three Tables : the first is called the Fellows Table, to which are admitted Earls, Barons, Gentlemen, Doctors, and Masters of Arts, but very few of the latter ; this is more plentifully and expensively served than the others : The Second is for Masters of Arts, Bachelors, some Gentlemen, and eminent Citizens : The Third for people of low condition. While the rest are at dinner or supper in a great Hall, where they are all assembled, one of the Students reads aloud the Bible, which is placed on a desk in the middle of the Hall, and this office every one of them takes upon himself in his turn ; as soon as Grace is said after each meal, every one is at liberty, either to retire to his own chambers, or to walk in the College garden, there being none that has not a delightful one.¹ Their habit is almost the same as that of the Jesuits, their gowns reaching down to their ancles, sometimes lined with furr ; they wear square caps ; the Doctors, Masters of Arts, and Professors, have another kind of gown that distinguishes them : Every Student of any considerable standing has a key to the College Library, for no College is without one."²

¹ *Emperor*. Trust me, Plantagenet, these Oxford schools
Are richly seated near the river-side :
The mountains full of fat and fallow deer,
The battling * pastures lade with kine and flocks,
The town gorgeous with high-built colleges,
And scholars seemly in their grave attire,
Learned in searching principles of art.—
What is thy judgment, Jaques Vandermast ?
Van. That lordly are the buildings of the town,
Spacious the rooms, and full of pleasant walks ;
But for the doctors, how that they be learned,
It may be meanly, for aught I can hear.

R. Greene, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (acted 1591), p. 166, col. 2, Dyce's 2-col. ed.

² Let us take from Mr Henry Bradshaw's copy of "An Inventory of the Stuff in the College Chambers (King's College, Cambridge), 1598," the furniture of the rooms of two pairs of Fellows, and three fours of Scholars. ("Each room contained accom-

* Causing to increase, or to grow fat.—D. Cp. College *battels*. *Battel*, fertile, &c.

2. s. *The Law Students.*

1598. Hentzner, p. 44. "In these Colleges [the Temple, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn,] numbers of the young nobility, gentry, and others, are educated, and chiefly in the study of physick, for very few apply themselves to the study of the law. The members of the college were in constant residence."—*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Com.* iii. 181.)

The seventh Middle Chamber

Inprimis a trundle beddsteade	Mr Lysle *
Item a portall of waynscott with a presse ioyned to yt of bords with locke & key & 2 payre of fayre hangells [? hooks]	Mr Biddell
Item a Courte Cubborde of oke	[* A fellow, the Anglo-Saxon scholar.]
Item iiij double casements of Iron & one of woodd	
Item 9 leaves for the windowes	
Item a lead with a spoute for a lator to washe	
Item a gallary with a litle table	
Item a frame of oke for books	
Item ij casements of wood & ij leaves for wyndowes	
Item a locke & ij bolts for y ^e dore	
Item a studdye desked & shelved rounde	
Item a locke & key for the dore of the studdye	
Item the ledges for the hangs in the Chamber	
Item a Double Iron Casement with ij openings in the studdye	bought of Mr
Item a round Drawing table in the Chamber	Clark at his
Item a waynscott bedstead with a Tester	Departing by
	John Cowell
	Bursar for 26s.

The fyveth vpper Chamber

Inprimis a table of oke & a long settell to y ^e same covered with seeling, which seeling is not y ^e Colledges.	Mr Clarke
Item a trundle bed of oke corded of 4 ^s price	Ds Slater
Item iiij dable casements of wood & iiij leaves for y ^e windowes	1598
Item a lead with a spoute to wasshe with	
Item a forme, and a locke & keye to the Chamber dore	
Item a standing bed brought out of Mr Fosters Chamber 1585	

The Tolebothe

The third Schollers Chamber

Inprimis 4 bedsteads corded	Ds Howgrave
Item a table & 2 formes	D Woodd
Item a studdy at xij ^s	1598
Item an other studdye at xxiiij ^s	[Wyvell senior
Item 4 leaves for the windowes	Slater]
Item an old presse of bords converted into the raysing of 3 studdyes	
Item a portall	

Horskepers Inn

The fourthe Schollers Chamber

Inprimis 4 bedstedds whereof 2 corded	Ds
Item a table a benche & a portall	Montague
Item a studdye at vi ^s viij ^d	Bradbery
Item an other at xiiij ^s	1598
Item ij leaves for the windowes	[Hynde
	Kellett]

selves to that of law¹: They are allowed a very good table, and silver cups to drink out of. Once a person of distinction, who could not help being surprised at the great number of cups, said 'He should have thought it more suitable to the life of Students, if they had used rather glass or earthen-ware than silver.' The College answered, 'They were ready to make him a present of all their plate, provided he would undertake to supply them with all the glass, and earthen-ware, they should have a demand for; since it was very likely he would find the expence, from constant breaking, exceed the value of the silver.'"

2. *t. Queen Elizabeth, at Chapel at Greenwich; her Dinner.*

1598. Hentzner, p. 47. "We arrived next at the royal palace of Greenwich, reported to have been originally built by Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, and to have received very magnificent additions from Henry VII. It was here Elizabeth, the present queen, was born, and here she generally resides; particularly in summer, for the delightfulness of it's situation. We were admitted by an order Mr Rogers had procured from the Lord Chamberlain, into the Presence-chamber, hung with rich tapestry, and the floor, after the English fashion, strewed with hay,^a through which the Queen commonly passes in her way to chapel: At the door stood a Gentleman dressed in velvet, with a gold chain, whose office was to introduce to the Queen any Person of Distinction, that came to wait on her: It was Sunday, when there is usually the greatest attendance of Nobility. In the same hall were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, a great number of Counsellors of State, Officers of the Crown, and Gentlemen, who waited the Queen's coming out; which she did from her own apartment, when it was time to go to Prayers, attended in the following manner:

"First went Gentlemen, Barons, Earls, Knights of the Garter, all

The 6th Schollers Chamber	D Hynd
Barbers Inn	Tayler
Inprimis iijj bedsteads corded	1598
Item a ioyned table with a frame, a forme & a benche	[Woodhall
Item a presse	Smithson]
Item leaves to the wyndowes v	
Item the studdye at ij ^s vjd	
Item in the same studdye a glasse wyndowe with a casment	

¹ See in Sir John Davies's *Epigrammes*, 1598, (in Cunningham's *Marlowe*, p. 269, col. 2.) that on Publius, the Student at the Common Law, who leaves his books—old Plowden, Dyer, and Brooke—and goes into the bear-pit at Paris Garden to see the fights between the bears 'old Harry Hunkes and Sacarson' (the latter, Shakspeare's in *Merry Wives*) and the dogs, and gets his satin doublet and velvet hose covered all over with spittle and filth.

^a *He probably means rushes.*—H. Walpole.

richly dressed and bare-headed ; next came the Chancellor, bearing the Seals in a red silk Purse, between Two ; one of which carried the Royal Scepter, the other the Sword of State, in a red scabbard, studded with golden Fleurs de Lis, the point upwards : Next came the Queen, in the Sixty-fifth year of her Age, as we were told, very majestic ; her Face oblong, fair, but wrinkled ; her Eyes small, yet black and pleasant ; her Nose a little hooked ; her Lips narrow, and her Teeth black ; (a defect the English seem subject to, from their too great use of sugar) she had in her Ears two pearls, with very rich drops ; she wore false Hair, and that red ; upon her Head she had a small Crown, reported to be made of some of the gold of the celebrated Lunebourg table.¹ Her Bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry ; and she had on a Necklace of exceeding fine jewels ; her Hands were small, her Fingers long, and her Stature neither tall nor low ; her air was stately, her manner of speaking mild and obliging. That day she was dressed in white Silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans, and over it a Mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads ; her Train was very long, and the end of it born by a Marchioness ; instead of a Chain she had an oblong Collar of gold and jewels. As she went along in all this state and magnificence, she spoke very graciously, first to one, then to another, whether foreign Ministers, or those who attended for different reasons, in English, French, and Italian ; for besides being well skilled in Greek, Latin, and the Languages I have mentioned, she is mistress of Spanish, Scotch, and Dutch : Whoever speaks to her, it is kneeling ; now and then she raises some with her Hand. While we were there, W. Slawata, a Bohemian Baron, had letters to present to her ; and she, after pulling off her glove, gave him her right Hand to kiss, sparkling with rings and jewels, a mark of particular Favour : Wherever she turned her Face, as she was going along, every body fell down on their knees.* The Ladies of the Court followed next to her, very handsome and well-shaped, and for the most part dressed in white ; she was guarded on each side by the Gentlemen Pensioners³, fifty in number, with gilt battle-axes ; in the Antichapel next the Hall where we were, Petitions were presented to her, and she received them most graciously, which occasioned the acclamation of LONG LIVE QUEEN

* *At this distance of time, it is difficult to say what this was.*—H. Walpole.

¹ *Her Father had been treated with the same deference. It is mentioned by Fox in his Acts and Monuments, that when the Lord Chancellor went to apprehend queen Catherine Parr, he spoke to the King on his knees.*—H. Walpole.

King James I. suffered his courtiers to omit it.—Bacon's Papers, v. ii. p. 516.

³ "The cowslips tall, her pensioners be."—*Mids. N.'s Dream*

ELIZABETH !^{*} She answered it with, I THANK YOU, MY GOOD PEOPLE. In the Chapel was excellent music ; as soon as it, and the Service was over, which scarce exceeded half-an-hour, the Queen returned in the same State and Order, and prepared to go to Dinner. But while she was still at Prayers, we saw her Table set out with the following Solemnity :

"A Gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a table-cloth, which after they had both kneeled three times, with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table ; and after kneeling again, they both retired. Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-seller, a plate, and bread ; when they had kneeled as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first. At last came an unmarried Lady, (we were told she was a Countess) and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting-knife ; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she had prostrated herself three times, in the most graceful manner approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the Queen had been present : When they had waited there a little while, the Yeomen of the Guard entered, bare-headed, cloathed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in at each turn a course of twenty-four dishes, served in plate, most of it gilt ; these dishes were received by a Gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the Lady-Taster gave to each of the guard a mouthful to eat, of the particular dish he had brought, for fear of any poison. During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in all England, being carefully selected for this service, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets, and two kettle-drums made the hall ring for half an hour together. At the end of all this ceremonial, a number of unmarried Ladies appeared, who with particular solemnity lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the Queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the rest goes to the Ladies of the Court.

p. 53. "The Queen dines and sups alone with very few attendance ; and it is very seldom that any body, foreign or native, is admitted at that time, and then only at the intercession of somebody in power.

"Near this palace is the Queen's Park stocked with deer : Such Parks

^{*} "Men and women, when they passed her Majesty, fell on their knees, and exclaimed, with uplifted hands, '*Gott sauve the Quene !*' Even nobles are accustomed to kneel on one knee when they are conversing with her."—1585. Kiechel of Ulm, in *Rye*, p. 88.

are common throughout England, belonging to those that are distinguished either for their rank or riches. In the middle of this is an old square Tower, called MIREFLEUR, supposed to be that mentioned in the romance of Amadis de Gaul; and joining to it a plain, where Knights and other Gentlemen use to meet at set times and holydays to exercise on horse-back."

3. *Theatres.*

Hentzner in 1598 says of the London theatres, in Horace Walpole's englishing, 1757, p. 41-3 :—

"Without the city are some *Theatres*, where English Actors represent almost every day Tragedies and Comedies to very numerous audiences; these are concluded with excellent music, variety of dances, and the excessive applause of those that are present."

* Reginald Scot in 1587 notes that the song of the workmen at Dover harbour "is a more ciuil call than the brutish call at the theatre for the comming awaie of the plaiers to the stage," the representative of the modern stamping and clapping when the curtain isn't drawn up at the proper time. (*Holinshed*, iii. 1546, in Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. lxxxviii.)

Sir John Davies sketches the proud Courtier at the theatre, in his Epigram (A.D. 1598).

IN RUFUM, III.

Rufus the Courtier, at the theatre,
Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
Or through a gate, doth show his double face,
For that the clamorous fry of Inns of Court
Fills up the private rooms of greater price;
And such a place, where all may have resort,
He, in his singularity, doth despise.

Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 263.

By the date of Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass*, 1616, the stage was the favourite show-place for well-dressed folk :

Here is a cloke cost fifty pound, wife,
Which I can sell for thirty, when I have seen
All London in't, and London has seen me.
To-day I go to the *Blackfriars playhouse*,
Sit in the view, salute all my acquaintance,
Rise up between the acts, let fall my cloak,
Publish a handsome man and a rich suit;
And that's a special end why we go thither,
All that pretend to stand for't on the stage:
The ladies ask, "who's that?" For they do come
To see us, as we do to see them.

Act I. sc. iii, p. 347, col. 2, Moxon's edition.

The scene at the break-up of the audience was a mixt one, Sir John Davies says in 1598—Epigram xvii, Marlowe, p. 265, col. 2 :

. . . we see at all the playhouse doors,
When ended is the play, the dance and song,

"Not far from one of these Theatres, which are all built of wood,¹ lies the Royal barge, close to the river; it has two splendid cabbins, beautifully ornamented with glass windows, painting and gilding; it is kept upon dry ground, and sheltered from the weather.

"There is still another place, built in the form of a Theatre, which serves for the baiting of Bulls and Bears: they are fastned behind, and then worried by great English bulldogs; but not without great risque to the dogs, from the horns of the one, and the teeth of the other; and it sometimes happens they are killed upon the spot; fresh ones are immediately supplied in the places of those that are wounded or tired. To this entertainment, there often follows that of whipping a blinded Bear, which is performed by five or six men, standing circularly with whips, which they exercise upon him without any mercy, as he cannot escape from them because of his chain: he defends himself with all his force and skill, throwing down all who come within his reach, and are not active enough to get out of it, and tearing the whips out of their hands, and breaking them. At these spectacles, and every where else, the English are constantly smoking Tobacco, and in this manner: they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and putting fire to it, they draw the smoak into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils, like funnels, [and] along with it, plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head.²

A thousand townsmen, gentlemen and whores,
Porters and serving-men together throng.

A dance and song often followd the performance. The Epilogue to *2 Henry IV.* is spoken by a dancer.

The dress of one of the 'light-taylde' sisterhood is given by Davies in his Epigram xxvi: 'satin gown, cut-lawn* apron, velvet shoes, green silk stockings, petticoat of taffeta, with golden fringe around, withal perfumed with civet hot.' Did others wear velvet?

"This comes of . . . here in London, haunting
The Globes and Mermaids, wedging in with lords
Still at the table, and affecting lechery
In velvet."

1616. Ben Jonson. *The Devil is an Ass*, III. i. p. 357, col. 2.

He brings in his favourite inn again in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), I. i. p. 307, col. 2: "A pox o' these pretenders to wit! Your Three Cranes, Mitre, and Mermaid men!"

¹ The *Globe* was of wood. In 1610, April, "Monday 30th. His Excellency [the Duke of Wirtemberg] went to the *Globe*, the usual place for acting Plays; the history of the Moor of Venice [*Othello*] was represented there."—1610. Hans Jacob Wurmser von Vendenheym.—*Rye*, p. 61.

² See Harrison in Appendix I., p. lv, under 1573.

* Embroidered stockings, cut-work smocks and shirts. B. Jonson, *Devil is an Ass*, I. i. p. 344, col. 2.

"In these theatres, fruits, such as apples, pears and nuts, according to the season, are carried about to be sold, as well as ale and wine."

When speaking of the London stage, Kiechel says that there are some peculiar (*sonderbare*, i. e. *besondere*) houses, which are so constructed that they have about three galleries one above the other. "It may indeed happen, that the players take from 50 to 60 dollars [£10 to £12] at a time, particularly if they act any thing new, when people have to pay double. And that they perform nearly every day in the week; notwithstanding plays are forbidden on Friday and Saturday, this prohibition is not observed."—*Rye*, p. 88.

For the 'light-taylde huswives' at Shaksperc's Globe, see John Lane, in my *Tell-troth* volume, p. 132, and the notes on the stanza, at the end of the book. Also—

In or ab. 1580. Stephen Gosson. *Playes confuted*.¹ "In the Play-houses at London, it is the fashion of youthes² to go first into the yarde³, and to cary their eye through every gallery; then, like unto ravens, where they spy carrion, thither they flye, and presse as nere to the fairest as they can. Instead of pomegranates, they give them pippines; they dally with their garments to passe the time; they minister talke upon al occasions, and cyther bring them [the girls] home to their houses⁴ upon small acquaint-

¹ See Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579; and the Preface to the reprint of it by the old Shakespeare Society, for an account of the Puritan abusers of plays and players. The *second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theaters*, 1580, is very strong against them. I shall print some extracts in my notes to Stubbes's *Anatomic*.

² The life of the purposeless London gentleman at ease is sketched by Sir John Davies in his *Epigrammes*, 1598 (Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 269).

IN FUSCUM. XXXIX.

Fuscus is free, and hath the world at will,
Yet in the course of life that he doth lead,
He's like a horse, which, turning round a mill,
Doth always in the self-same circle tread:
First, he doth rise at ten; and at eleven
He goes to Gill's, where he doth eat till one;
Then sees he a play till six, and sups at seven;
And after supper, straight to bed is gone.
And there till ten next day he doth remain;
And then he dines; then sees a comedy;
And then he sups, and goes to bed again:
Thus round he runs without variety;
Save that sometimes he comes not to the play,
But falls into a whore-house by the way.

³ An inn-yard us'd as, or turnd into, a theatre, I suppose, the galleries of the inn running round the yard.

⁴ Stubbes notices this too, in his Chapter on Stage plays: "Do they not maintaine bawdric, insinuat folery, & renue the remembrance of hethen ydolatrie? Do they not

ance, or slip into taverns when the plaies are done."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 322.

4. a. *The Country and Cattle.*

1558. Perlin, p. 25. "Le pais est fort couvert & umbrageux ; car les terres sont toutes encloses de hayes, chesnes, & plusieurs autres sortes d'arbres, tellement que vous pensez en chëminant que vous soyes en un perpetuel boys : mais vous trouveres forces escaliers qui sont appelés en Anglois *amphores* (?), & par là les gens de pied vont par des petis sentiers, & entrent dedans les terres. Les gens de cheval n'y vont pas ; mais s'en vont par le grand chemin, entre arbres & buissons. En ce pays là, il n'y a point de bergers *qui* mainent ordinairement les moutons ; mais en les laissent ordinairement dedans les boys, soir & matin, & dedans les prayries communes."

4. b. *English boggy Roads. Sheep, Oxen, Peasants' huts, Rabbits, Polecats, Birds of Prey.*

1592. Jacob Rathgeb, printed 1602. *Rye*, p. 30. "Between London and Oxford the country is in some places very fertile, in others very boggy and mossy ; and such immense numbers of sheep are bred on it round about that it is astonishing. There is besides a superabundance of oxen and other good cattle

p. 31. "His Highness, however, departed early that same morning, August 28th, and took the road towards Cambridge.

"On the road we passed through a villainous, boggy, and wild country, and several times missed our way, because the country thereabouts is very little inhabited, and is nearly a waste ; and there is one spot in particular where the mud is so deep, that in my opinion it would scarcely be possible to pass with a coach in winter or rainy weather.

"About mid-day we came upon a fertile country, where there were little low hillocks, and a fine breed of splendid large oxen, and countless numbers of sheep : the peasants dwell in small huts, and pile up their

induce whordom & vncleennes? nay, are they not rather plaine devourers of maydenly virginittie and chastitie? For prooffe wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & Curtens, daylie and hourelly, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes ; where such wanton gestures, such bawdie speeches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and bussing, such clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes, and the like, is vsed, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done, euery mate sorts to his mate, euery one bringes another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their secret conclauces (couertly) they play *the Sodomitie*, or worse. And these be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the most part."

HARRISON.

The fruits of
theaters &
playes.

The Godly
demeanours
vsed at playes
& enterludes.

f

produce out of doors in heaps, and so high that you cannot see their houses.

"At noon his Highness dined at a pleasant village called Winslow, and towards dark we came to Bedford.

"Between these two places there is for the most part a sandy plain or heath, on which are a great number of wild rabbits, which are not in enclosures, but run free, so that you see fifty or sixty of them together, of all colours; but they scamper off like the wind into their burrows. In these parts they likewise catch wild-cats (*Küder*) and pole-cats, and various kinds of birds of prey, which do much injury to the rabbits; on this account they hang them on a gallows, as they do wolves, but first strip off their skins."

4. c. *English Soldiers, Passports, Climate, Witches, Game, Cattle, Sheep-shearing, Horses, Crops, Fish.*

1592. Rathgeb, pr. 1602. *Rye*, p. 50—52. "The soldiers, moreover, are excellent, but they do not willingly go on foreign service. When soldiers are wanted, and idlers are seen lounging about, they give them money and then they are bound to serve whether they like it or not; or should they [desert and] be caught, their business is soon settled; for because, as above mentioned, this kingdom is an island, and encompassed on every side by water, so that no one can enter or depart except in ships, orders have been issued to all ports or havens, that no Englishman shall leave it without a licence.

"As regards cold weather and thunder storms we ought to remark that the winter sets in with snow in December, and lasts till February, but the snow does not lie long, for the climate is warm.

"Many witches are found there, who frequently do much mischief by means of hail and tempests.

"Of game, it has great store of fallow-deer of various colours, as well in the woods¹ as in enclosed parks; likewise red deer, stags, and other game, though few and small; but no wild boars nor wolves are met with in this island, and no roes; but there are foxes and hares, vast numbers of rabbits or coney, which are everywhere to be found in enclosed gardens, as well as in the open fields and woods; these make their escape from the gardens.

"Of tame quadrupeds, it has beautiful oxen and cows, although not so big as the Burgundy cattle, but they have very large horns, are low and heavy, and for the most part black; there is abundance of sheep and

¹ This shows that Sir Thomas Lucy could have had deer at Charlecote without having a regular park there.

wethers in all parts and places, which graze by themselves winter and summer without shepherds ; but when it snows or freezes hard, they are driven into yards and fed with fodder, otherwise they do not go into the stables either in summer or winter.

"Sheep-shearing takes place only once, viz., in the month of June ; the heaviest wethers weigh sixty pounds, others from forty to fifty pounds ; they bear at the most not more than six, others four or five pounds of wool ; one of the best wethers (notwithstanding that they are very abundant) sells for about twenty shillings, that is, ten French francs or five thalers ; the inferior sort about ten shillings, or five francs ; and the worst about six or eight English shillings. The skin of the best wether and sheep is worth about twelve pence, that is, four and a half German batzen ; the worst about eight pence or three batzen ; a pound of wool about twelve pence, or four and a half batzen.

"Horses are abundant, yet, although low and small, they are very fleet ; the riding horses are geldings, and are generally excellent. The Queen has forbidden any horse to be exported out of the Kingdom without a licence.

"There are immense numbers of swine, which are larger than in any other country.

"Of tame and wild fowl, there are swans in great numbers, herons, ducks, pheasants, partridges, quails, turtle-doves, and wild doves.

"Of agricultural produce, it has very fine corn, rye, barley, oats, beans, hops, vegetables, apples, pears of various sorts, red and blue plums, cherries, (which however do not become ripe before June,) but no peaches except what are grown in gardens.

"There is no wine-growing in this kingdom^{*} ; but if you want wine, you can purchase the best and most delicious sorts, of various nations, and that on account of the great facility which the sea affords them for barter with other countries.

"Oysters are in great plenty, and are better and larger than in Italy ; they are cried in all parts of the streets. They sell also cod, plaice, small white river fish, pike, carp, trout, lobsters and crawfish, and in fine, all kinds of sea-fish, which are sold like meat in other parts, both fresh and salted."

4. d. The Soil, Climate, Beer, Sheep, &c. of England.

1598. Hentzner, p. 86. "The soil is fruitful, and abounds with cattle, which inclines the inhabitants rather to feeding than ploughing, so that near a third part of the land is left uncultivated for grazing. The climate is

^{*} This was a mistake : see Harrison's bk. i., ch. 18, to come in Part II.

most temperate at all times, and the air never heavy; consequently, maladies are scarcer, and less physic is used there, than any where else. There are but few rivers: Though the soil is productive, it bears no wine¹, but that want is supplied from abroad by the best kinds, as of Orleans, Gascon, Rhenish, and Spanish. The general drink is beer, which is prepared from barley, and is excellently well tasted, but strong, and what soon fuddles. There are many hills without one tree, or any spring,² which produce a very short and tender grass, and supply plenty of food to sheep; upon these wander numerous flocks, extremely white; and whether from the temperature of the air, or goodness of the earth, bearing softer and finer fleeces than those of any other country: This is the true Golden Fleece, in which consist the chief riches of the inhabitants, great sums of money being brought into the island by merchants chiefly for that article of trade. The dogs here are particularly good. It has mines of gold, silver, and tin, (of which all manner of table utensils are made, in brightness equal to silver, and used all over Europe) of lead, and of iron, but not much of the latter: The horses are small but swift: Glass houses are in plenty here."

4. e. *A Berkshire Harvest-Home.*

Hentzner, p. 79. "As we were returning to our inn [at Windsor, Sept. 14], we happened to meet some country people *celebrating their Harvest-home*³; their last load of corn they crown with flowers, having besides an image richly dressed, by which, perhaps, they would signify Ceres; this they keep moving about, while men and women, men and maid servants, riding through the streets in the cart, shout as loud as they can till they arrive at the barn. The farmers here do not bind up their corn in sheaves, as they do with us, but directly as they have reaped or mowed it, put it into carts, and convey it into their barns."

5. a. *London.*⁴

Hentzner, p. 45. "The streets in this city are very handsome and clean⁵; but that which is named from the goldsmiths who inhabit it

¹ This was a mistake: see Harrison's bk. I., ch. 18, to come in Part II.

² The Downs.

³ See Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses*.

⁴ See Perlin's opinion of the city at p. xli above, note 1.

⁵ Here's a London street-scene, in 1590, from Sir Jn. Davies's *Epigrammes*, that no doubt Shakspeare often saw and sympathized with, for he loved music with all his heart:

. . . the ballade-singer's auditorie,
which hath at Temple-bar his standing chose,
and to the vulgar sings an alehouse storie.

surpasses all the rest : There is in it a gilt Tower, with a fountain that plays. Near it on the farther side is a handsome house, built by a goldsmith, and presented by him to the city. There are besides to be seen in this street, as in all others where there are goldsmiths' shops, all sorts of gold and silver vessels exposed to sale ; as well as antient and modern medals, in such quantities as must surprize a man the first time he sees and considers them.

"Fitz-Stephens, a writer of English history, reckoned in his time in London, 127 parish Churches, and 13 belonging to Convents : He mentions besides, that upon a review there of men able to bear arms, the people brought into the field under their colours 40,000 foot and 20,000 horse. *Vide Camden's Britan. Middlesex.*"

p. 46. "The best Oysters are sold here in great quantities.

"Every body knows that English Cloth is much approved of, for the goodness of the materials, and imported into all the kingdoms and provinces of Europe.

"We were shown at the house of Leonard Smith, a taylor, a most perfect looking-glass ornamented with gold, pearl, silver, and velvet, so richly as to be estimated at five hundred ecus du soleil. We saw at the same place the hippocamp and eagle stone, both very curious and rare.

"And thus much of London.

"Upon taking the air down the river, the first thing that struck us, was the ship of that noble Pirate, Sir Francis Drake, in which he is said to have surrounded this globe of earth. On the left hand lies Ratcliffe, a considerable suburb : On the opposite shore is fixed a long pole with rams-horns upon it, the intention of which was vulgarly said to be, a reflection upon wilful and contented cuckolds."

First stands a Porter : then an Oyster wife
Doth stint her crie, and stay her steps to heare him,
Then comes a cutpurse ready with a knife,
and then a cuntry Client passeth neere him,
There stands the Cunstable, there stands the whore,
And harkning to the song, mark not each other.
There, by the Serieant, standes the debtor poone,
And doth no more mistrust him then his brother :
Thus Orpheus to such hearers giveth musique,
And Philo [the quack] to such Patients giueth physicke.

(Marlowe's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, p. 268, col. 2.) In *Philonem*. XXXVIII. *Epigrammes and Elegies*. By I. D[avies]. and C. M[arlow]. [n. d., but prob. 1550]. At Middleborough. sign. C 4 verso. In Grosart's edition of Sir John Davies, 2 Vols. 1876, in Vol. I. pp. ci-cii, this is shown to have been the archetype of Wordsworth's famous "Power of Music;" in Vol. II. pp. 36-7 is the Epigram in full, with text of various readings.—J. W. Ebsworth.

5. b. *Water.*

"The sweet water is preserved in various parts of the city, in large well-built stone cisterns [conduits], to be drawn off by cocks ; and the poor labourers [water-bearers] carry it on their shoulders to the different houses and sell it, in a peculiar kind of wooden vessels, broad at the bottom, but very narrow at the top, and bound with iron hoops."—1592. Jacob Rathgeb, pr. 1602 ; in *Rye*, p. 8.

5. c. *The London Apprentices.*

1558. Perlin, p. 7. "Vous voyres a Londres les apprentis avec des robbes contre leurs boutiques, nuds testes, & contre la muraille de leur maison, tellement qu'en passant parmi les rucs, vous en trouveres cinquante ou soixante contre les murailles comme idoles, ayans leurs bonnetz a la main."

5. d. *The Shops.*

1558. Perlin, p. 24. "En ce pays là, toutes les bouticles de tous mestiers sont ouvertes,¹ comme ceux des barbiers en France ; & ont force ouvertures de voirres, tant aux ouvroirs qu'aux chambres d'en hault : car aux chambres vous verries force croisées de voire, & par tout les maisons quasi de toutes les villes, quant est aux gens de mestier : & sont toutes icelles maisons comme les ouvroirs des barbiers de France, tant par hault que par bas ; & verries a leurs ouvroirs & fenestres, tant de ville que de villages, forces fleurs ; & aux tavernes, forces foin dessus les planchiers de boys, & forces oreilliés tapisseries, sur lesquels les voyageurs se assisent."²

6. a. *Cambridge.*³

Hentzner, p. 56. "On this side [of the bridge over the Cam] where

¹ He means that the openings of the [projecting] shops were closed only by shutters, though some had glass windows, which were more common to the upper rooms. The London shops were like what Mr Gosling describes those till lately in Canterbury, open to the weather [*Walk in and about Canterbury*, p. 46 (A.D. 1774, 1777, &c.).] The principal use of the *Rows* in Chester seems to have been to obviate this inconvenience, as it was found advisable to make the shops in the second story, and the warehouses and vaults on the ground-floor.—Nichols.

² Of Londons pride I will not boast upon,
Her gold, her silver, and her ornaments ;
Her Gems and Jewells, pearly and precious stone,
Her furniture and rich habillements ;
Her cloth of silver tissue, and of gold,
Which in her shops men dayly may behold.

1607. Rich. Johnson. *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields* (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 408.)

³ See the jolly little Map of Cambridge in 1588, in Wm. Smith's *Description of*

far the greater part of the town stands, all is splendid : the streets fine, the churches numerous, and those seats of the Muses, the Colleges, most beautiful : in these a great number of learned men are supported, and the studies of all polite sciences and languages flourish."

p. 58. "We must note here that there is a certain Sect in England, called *Puritans*: These, according to the doctrine of the Church of Geneva, reject all ceremonies antiently held, and admit of neither organs nor tombs in their places of worship, and entirely abhor all difference in rank among churchmen, such as Bishops, Deans, &c. : they were first named Puritans by the Jesuit Sandys. They do not live separate, but mix with those of the Church of England in the Colleges."

5. b. *Oxford.*

p. 59. "*Oxonium*, Oxford, the famed Athens of England ; that glorious seminary of learning and wisdom, whence religion, politeness and letters are abundantly dispersed into all parts of the kingdom : The town is remarkably fine, whether you consider the elegance of its private buildings, the magnificence of its public ones, or the beauty and wholesomeness of its situation ; which is on a plain, encompassed in such manner with hills shaded with wood, as to be sheltered on the one hand from the sickly South, and on the other from the blustering West, but open to the East that blows serene weather, and to the North the preventer of corruption ; from which in the opinion of some it formerly obtained the appellation of *Bellositum*. This town is watered by two rivers, the Cherwell and the Isis, vulgarly called the Ouse ; and though these streams join in the same channel, yet the Isis runs more entire, and with more rapidity towards the South, retaining its name until it meets the Thames, which it seems long to have sought, at Wallingford, thence called by the compound name of Thames, it flows the prince of all British rivers ; of whom we may justly say, as the antients did of the Euphrates, That it both sows and waters England. The Colleges in this famous University are as follows : [*a list given : then*]

p. 63. "Thus far the Colleges and Halls, which for beauty of their buildings, their rich endowments, and copious Libraries, excell all the Academies in the Christian world."

6. c. *The Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.*

1558. Perlin, p. 12. "En iceluy Royaulme d'Angleterre sont deulx

England and Wales, in the Sloane MS. 2596. Mr Hooper is now cutting it for Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's edition of Cardinal or Bishop Fisher's English Works for the Early English Text Society ; and I hope to give a print of it in Part II. of this *Harrison*.

universités, c'est a scavoir, Cambruches & Auxonne, qu'on appelle en latin *Auxonia*; Cambruche, en latin, *Cambrusium*. Ceux du pays ne courent gaire ou bien peu, & ne s'adonnent point beaucoup aux lettres, sinon qu'a toute vanite & ambition, & a toute marchandise. Les Italiens hantent fort le pays pour raison de la banque."

7. *Warwickshire*. [A.D. 1599.] Harl. MS. 3813, leaf 40a.

"*Warwickshire*, a good Mediterranean Prouince, noted to be in quantitie superficiall 555 miles, conteyninge 122 miles in circute, beinge 37 miles longe, from Staffordshire vnto Oxfordshire, & 25 miles broad, from Leycestershire vnto Worcestershire: a Contrey some parte plaine Champion & y^e rest wood lande, deuided with y^e ryuer Auon, plentifull bothe in corne & pasturage, whereby it is well inhabited, conteyninge 1 Chase, & 16. parkes for pleasure, & comprehendeth 158 parishes, wherof their be 12. markett townes, & but 1. borough to y^e Parliament, besides y^e Cittie of Couentrie; the principall whereof are, the Cittie of Couentrie, a fyne, neate, & well built towne, & walled about, cheefelie noted, for wollen workes, & blue thridd, and is a Bushops Sea, ioyned vnto Lychfeild. Next is y^e Burrough of Warwicke, y^e Capitall towne of *that* Contrey, reasonable well built, with an antient castle, the cheefe seate of y^e Earles of *that* title. Next is Stratford vpon Auon and Henley, good markett townes, & Bremyingham, cheefelie noted for all sortes of Iron tooles."

p. vi. *Radwinter*. Harrison's parsonage. "At Radwinter, Essex, we find by the terrier of 1610 A.D. that there were two mansions belonging to the benefice, 'on the south side of the church, towards the west end, one called the great vicarage, and in ancient time the *Domus* Capellanorum, and the other the less vicarage,' which latter 'formerly served for the ease of the Parson, and, as appears by evidence, first given to the end that if any of the parish were sick, the party might be sure to find the Parson or his curate near the church, ready to go and visit him.'"—Cutts's *Scenes and Characters of the Middle-Ages*, 1872, p. 260-1.

p. 104. *Rabeigh*. Read 'Raleigh.' The name is rightly given by John Norden (who notes the custom too) in his beautiful MS. *Description of Essex*, 1594, (much fuller than the Camden Society's printed one) dedicated to the Earl of Essex, in the Grenville Library MS. LV, British Museum. Walker's *Gazeteer of 1801* describes the town: "RAYLEIGH, or RALEIGH, a town in Essex, consisting chiefly of one broad handsome street. It is situated upon the creek called Hadley-Bay, which parts it from Canvey-Island, 13 miles S.E. of Chelmsford, and 34 N.N.E. of London. Market on Saturday." Radwinter, Harrison's town, is near Colchester.

APPENDIX III.

NOTES UPON NORDEN AND HIS MAP OF LONDON, 1593.

BY

HENRY B. WHEATLEY.

THE earliest view of London known to exist is the drawing by Anthony Van den Wyngerde preserved in the Sutherland Collection (Bodleian Library, Oxford), but as this most interesting representation of old London was made in the reign of Henry VIII., it is of too early a date for our present purpose, which is to realise if possible the appearance of the city in which Shakspeare lived and did the chief work of his life. The next plan in point of time is the one included in George Braun's and Francis Hohenberg's great work—*Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. 1572. Although so dated, the map is proved to have been drawn at an earlier period, as the steeple of old St Paul's, which was destroyed in 1561, is represented on it. It is therefore supposed to be a copy from some earlier map not now known to exist. The next is the map attributed to Ralph Agas, which is undated, but was probably made somewhere between 1561 and 1576. The copy in the Guildhall Library was printed in the reign of James I., as is proved by the composition of the royal arms in the upper left-hand corner of the map, where the Scottish lion is quartered with the lions of England, the fleur de lis of France, and the harp of Ireland ; but there is reason to believe that many editions had previously been printed, which are no longer in existence, because the royal arms of Elizabeth are seen on the state barge off Baynard's Castle. It must have been made after 1561, because the steeple of St Paul's is not represented, and it seems unlikely, as Mr Halliwell-Phillipps points out, that if it had been planned after 1576 the positions of *The Theatre* and the *Curtain* would have been left out of so large a map. Besides these important plans of London there are—a small bird's-eye view etched by F. Velagio and inscribed "Londra" (about 1570), which was sold at Dr Wellesley's sale, and is now in Mr Crace's collection ; and a coloured

drawing of London from the Tower to Westminster Abbey in the interesting manuscript volume by William Smith, Rouge Dragon, entitled "The Particular Description of England with the Portratures of certaine of the cheiffest Citties and Townes," 1588 (Sloane MS. 2596).

We now come to the special map before us, which is dated 1593, and is by far the best one for the purpose of illustrating Shakspeare's London. The original, published in Norden's *Middlesex*, is of small size [9½ inches wide by 6½ inches high], but by the aid of photography the present copy has been considerably enlarged with no detriment to its accuracy.¹ By this means a good workable map has been obtained, which is of peculiar value from the large number of references to the names of places which it includes. The date 1593 appears twice on the plate, once after the designer's name, and again after that of the engraver, and the trustworthiness of this date is proved by the representation of 'The Playhouse,' on the Bankside, which, as Mr Halliwell-Phillipps has already pointed out in his *Illustrations*, is intended for the Rose theatre, erected in the year 1592. Before proceeding to describe the chief features of interest in the map, it will be well to devote a few words to a short notice of the man to whom we are indebted for its production.

Little is known of John Norden outside of his work, and it is not quite clear whether there were not two authors bearing both these names who were living at the same time. Anthony à Wood was of opinion that the author of a large number of devotional works (one of which, 'The Pensive Man's Practice,' 12°, 1591, went through forty editions) was the same man as the surveyor.

Wood informs us that Norden was born of a good family probably settled in Wiltshire, and Gough adds the date of his birth as about the year 1548. He was admitted a Commoner of Hart Hall, Oxford, in 1564, and graduated B.A. Feb. 11, 1568, and M.A. Feb. 26, 1572-3. During his residence at the University he is supposed to have drawn with the pen, on sixteen sheets, that map of all the battles fought in England from the Conquest to the time of Queen Elizabeth, which is mentioned by Hearne (*Letter on Antiquities, &c.*, p. 34) as formerly existing in the Picture Gallery at Oxford.

Norden did much valuable work in his day and deserves our esteem, more especially as he does not appear to have prospered very greatly in a worldly point of view. Richard Heber, the great Bibliomaniac, possessed the presentation copy to Elizabeth, of Norden's *Hertfordshire*,

¹ The map was re-engraved for the reprint of Norden's *Middlesex*, 1723, and reproduced from the original in the first part of Mr Halliwell-Phillipps's *Illustrations of the Life of Shakspeare*.

with a manuscript address to the Queen, in which the author stated that he had spent above one thousand marks, and five years' time upon the work; 'by which being daungerouslie indepted, much greeved, and my familie distressed, I have no other refuge but to flie unto your Majestie's never fayling bountie for relief;'¹ and in the printed prefatory letter to Burghley, he wrote, "I have been forced to struggle with want, the unpleasant companion of illustrious desires, and have long sustained foils, enforced neglect of my purposed business, and sorrow of my working business,—Miseria mentem macerat." In James the first's reign he prospered better. In 1609 he was 'Surveyor of his Majesty's Woods,' and, according to Granger, he received a salary of fifty pounds a year from his office. He was also 'Land Surveyor to Prince Charles,' afterwards Charles I., and had much work to do connected with the manors of the Duchy of Cornwall.

In 1596 he dated from his poor house near Fulham, but Wood says that he lived during the greater part of James's reign at Hendon in Middlesex. From the following passage in Gerard's *Herball* (relating to *beta vulgaris*, or red beet) it appears that Norden cultivated plants in his garden—"the seedes taken from that plant which was altogether of one colour and sown, doth bring forth plants of many and variable colours, as the worshipful gentleman master John Norden can well testifie, unto whom I gave some of the seedes aforesaide, which in his garden brought forth many other of beautiful colours" (*Herball*, 1597, p. 251). He died in or about 1626, and Granger describes a portrait which represents him as 'in a scull cap with a wrought border, falling band; a small oval.'

Norden projected a complete *Speculum Britanniae*, but only published two counties, viz. Middlesex in 1593, and Hertfordshire in 1598. The MS. of the first is in the British Museum (Harl. MSS. 570), with a few corrections in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, and appears to have been the author's first draft. It differs somewhat from the printed copy, in that it contains some interesting particulars afterwards omitted and has no account of London. The reason for this omission is given by Norden in the following words—"I purpose to make a perticuler breife declaracōn therof, together with the mapp of the Cytie, might it please God to be pacient with the seyd Cytie, and to put away his anger, that the sicknes may cease." The MS. of the other is in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. The two books were reprinted together in 1637, and again in 1723. Northamptonshire was written in 1610, but was not published until 1720, and Cornwall was first published in 1728. Essex was written in 1594, but remained in MS. at Hatfield until 1840, when

¹ Norden's *Essex*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis (Camden Society, 1840), p. xxxiv.

it was printed for the Camden Society by Sir Henry Ellis, who prefixed a valuable introduction, from which these particulars relating to Norden have chiefly been obtained. There is another MS. of Essex in the Grenville Library (MS. LV.) which is altogether a different work from that at Hatfield.¹ In the dedication of the latter to the Earl of Essex Norden writes: "Thus, my gracious Lorde, hauinge waded through this Shire, I haue taken boldenes in humilitie, to present it vnto your honorable view; Euen so commendinge it vnto your moste wished patronage, thowgh symplie contrived in the interime of the fittes of my longe and chargeable sicknes."

Kent and Surrey are said to exist in MS., but it is not known where. Norden's County Maps of Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Surrey and Sussex appeared upon an enlarged scale with his name in the sixth edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1607, which was the first edition of that book with maps. These on a still larger scale (with the exception of Kent, but with Cornwall added) were also inserted in Speed's *Theater of the empire of Great Britain*, folio, 1611. Norden was the first Cartographer to introduce the roads, but these enlarged copies of his maps have no roads marked. Norden's *Surveyor's Dialogue* was published in 1607, and again in 1610 and 1611. 'England an Intended Guyde for English Travailleurs,' &c., appeared in 1625. At the end of Norden's book on Middlesex are the usual complimentary verses of admiring friends on the projected *Speculum*. Robert Nicolson compares the author with Ptolemy and Ortelius as a geographer, with Mercator as a chorographer, with Braun as a 'poly-grapher,' and sums up all—

'So Cosmo-choro-Poly-grapher's he.'

H. O. is still more effusive, and ends his praise with an anagrammatic pun:—

'Norden this glasse shall so exalt thy fame
As grave, *nor-den*, nor tombe shall hide thy name.'

Among the various Surveys made by Norden in the exercise of the duties of his offices are, 'A Description of the Honor of Windesor, 1607' (a fine set of MS. plans and views on vellum among the Harleian MSS. of the British Museum), 'Observations concerning crown lands and woods, 1613' (Lansdowne MSS. 165, art. 55), and 'An Abstract of divers Manors, Landes, and Tenementes latelie graunted unto Prince Charles by our Sovereigne Lord James, his most loving father. Surveyde by

¹ Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, 1865, p. 185.

vertue of a deputation of y^e honourable Sir James Fullerton, knight, Surveyor general of the landes and land revenews of the sayd moste worthy Prince Charles, made and performed by John Norden the elder, and John Norden the younger, as deputies to the sayd Sir James, in the moneths of June, July, August, and parte of September 1617' (B. M. Add. MSS. No. 6027).

Norden was still alive in 1624, when he finished with his son the survey of Sheriff Hutton Manor, County York.

Besides the map of London drawn by Norden in 1593 and engraved by Pieter van den Keere in the same year, there was 'a view of London in eight sheets having at bottom a representation of the Lord Mayor's Show, all on horseback and the Aldermen in round caps. Bagford says this view is singular, and was taken from the pitch of the hill towards Dulwich College, going to Camberwell from London, about 1604 or 1606, and that he had not met with any other of the kind : he adds, that he saw it on the staircase of Dulwich College, and that Secretary Pepys went afterwards to see it, and would have purchased it : but that since it is quite decayed and destroyed by the damp of the wall. It was given to the College with the Library by William Cartwright, an eminent comedian and bookseller, a friend of the founder's.'

The map which we are now about to consider has frequently been re-produced, and several editions were published under the title of 'A Guide for Countrymen in the famous Cittey of London, &c.' 1613, 1653, &c. In looking at this map it is necessary to bear in mind that it represents the City only, and that Westminster was delineated on another map published in Norden's *Middlesex*. London is made to extend from a little outside Temple bar to St Katherine's by the Tower.

The three chief Shaksperian localities are Shoreditch, Blackfriars, and Bankside ; but in one point of view we may consider the whole of London delineated on this map as a Shaksperian locality, for in those days, when all the town was included within a limited area, every part must have been familiar to our great poet.

There are two ways by which Shakspeare may have come to London from his home at Stratford-on-Avon, viz. the road by Nether Pillerton, Banbury, Buckingham, Aylesbury, Wendover, and Amersham ; and that by Shipston on Stour, Long Compton, Chipping Norton, Woodstock, Oxford, Wheatley, Tetsworth, High Wycombe, and Beaconsfield, which we know he used when he stayed at old Davenant's inn—the Crown at Oxford. Both these roads would meet at Uxbridge, and therefore there is little doubt but, that as Shakspeare neared London, he

¹ Gough, quoted by Ellis (Norden's *Essex*, p. xxiv.).

came along the Uxbridge road by Shepherd's Bush, Kensington gravel pits, Tyburn, the Lord Mayor's Banqueting houses, and the village of St Giles, along Holborn, and that he passed by Gray's Inn, where Edward Hall the Chronicler (whose work Shakspeare sometimes used), George Gascoigne, the poet, and William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, had been students. These buildings, with their beautiful gardens attached, are at the extreme west of our map. After passing St Andrew's Church and the Holborn Conduit, Shakspeare would enter the City at Newgate. What did he see? We will now attempt to answer this question. At the time of this memorable first journey to London, which was made a few years only before the date of this map, the only theatres on the north side of the Thames were the Theatre and the Curtain, and both these buildings were situated in the fields at Shoreditch, which unfortunately are not here represented. The road which issues from Bishopgate leads to them, but the limits of the map would not allow of the representation of what was then a village suburb with a church among the trees. The Blackfriars theatre was not built,¹ nor was the still more famous Globe in existence.

If we were to mark off the outline of Norden's map upon a plan of London of to-day, we should find that it occupied a small portion of the centre only, and yet this space was made up to some extent of open places. There is the Gray's Inn lane, the upper part of which led through the country towards Hampstead. The village of Islington stands alone among the hills in the far north, and was not then, as it afterwards became, the high road to the north of England. Not far off, and coming into the map at the north-west corner, is the River of Wells, which takes a serpentine course down to Holborn, passes under Holborn bridge, then under Fleet bridge, and falls into the Thames as the Fleet river or ditch between Bridewell and Blackfriars. Moorfields was then only lately drained, but it soon afterwards was laid out in walks. The Old Spital is marked which gave its name to Spitalfields, where crowds used to congregate on Easter Monday and Tuesday, to hear the Spital sermons preached from the pulpit cross. The ground was originally a Roman cemetery, and about the year 1576 bricks were largely made from the clayey earth, the recollection of which is kept alive in the name of Brick Lane. South of these fields is the church of St Botolph, opposite Aldgate, where Robert Dow, citizen and merchant tailor, was buried, a few years after this map was made. It was this Dow who gave in 1605 the

¹ The house which Burbage converted into a theatre in 1596 was an old one, and therefore was here at the date of the map.

sum of £50 to the parish of St Sepulchre's, that the interest might remunerate the clerk for ringing a handbell at midnight and daybreak under the wall of Newgate, and for calling the poor prisoners condemned to death to prayer and supplication.

The two Smithfields east and west are marked, although even at this time their dimensions had been much curtailed. It is not easy to say what the peculiar objects represented at East Smithfield are intended for, but Mr Hales throws out the probable conjecture, that they are old-fashioned ordnance belonging to the Tower.¹ Mr Furnivall, however, thinks it more likely that they are intended to represent masts, either for ships or streamers. The buildings outside Aldgate, and above the Tower, belonged to the nunnery of St Clair, whose inmates were of the Minorite order. After the dissolution, the land was farmed by one Goodman, and the remembrance of these several owners is retained in the names of the Minories and Goodman's Fields. All these places were outside the city walls. The walls themselves are well defined, and the different gates from Ludgate, on the south west, to Aldgate,² on the east, are clearly marked. On the south of the river are the open spaces also. There is Lambeth Marsh of unsavoury repute, on the extreme west; next to it the gardens of Paris Garden; then the Bankside, with the Bear-house and the Playhouse. Philip Henslowe, part proprietor of Paris Garden and manager of the Rose Theatre (or the Playhouse), was one of the inhabitants of the Bankside. Malone asserted that he had evidence of Shakspeare's residence here from 1596 to 1608, and there is no doubt that the poet's younger brother Edmund Shakspeare died on

¹ Do they not look like cannon unmounted? The breech, and the button, and the bands all seem visible. See a picture of 'an old English cannon in the Tower of London,' in Roberts's *Social Hist. of the Southern counties of England*, p. 102. And, overbuilt as the old tower precincts were, it might be a relief to turn them outside. Nor is the size any fatal objection; for with regard to the ships too there is a variation from the scale. Another suggestion, however, that occurs, is that East Smithfield was at this time used as a tenter-ground—a suggestion that seems to have occurred to Brayley. The only objects that are mentioned as standing on East Smithfield—except certain buildings which for a time usurped the ground, but were presently cleared away—are a Cross (at the N.W. corner), a pair of stocks, and a cage—a sort of small prison.—J. W. HALES.

These questionable objects are figured also on Faithorne's Map of London (1658), but are there of a smaller size and differently arranged.—H. B. W.

² In May 1374 a lease was granted to Chaucer of 'the whole of the dwelling-house above the Gate of Algate, with the rooms built over, and a certain cellar beneath the same gate, on the south side of that gate and the appurtenances thereof; to have and to hold the whole of the house aforesaid, and the rooms thereof, unto the aforesaid Geoffrey for the whole life of the said Geoffrey.'—*Riley's Memorials of London*, 1868, p. 377.

the Bankside. Another inhabitant was Philip Massinger, who died in March 1638-9 suddenly, so suddenly indeed, that retiring to bed in his own house in good health he was found dead the next morning. His body was buried in the neighbouring church of St Saviour (or St Mary Overies), which is not very clearly marked in the map amongst a little mass of houses. This church was the resting-place of many remarkable men, from the poet Gower downwards. Sir Edward Dyer, who died in Winchester House (1607), Lawrence Fletcher, a leading member of the company of actors to which Shakspeare belonged, and John Fletcher the dramatist. Sir Aston Cokayne wrote of Massinger and Fletcher :—

‘ In the same grave Fletcher was buried, here
Lies the stage poet, Philip Massinger ;
Plays they did write together, were great friends,
And now one grave includes them at their ends ;
To whom on earth nothing did part, beneath
Here in their fames they lie in spight of death.’

It appears from the most interesting contemporary drawing of the Procession of Edward VI. from the Tower to Westminster (1547), formerly at Cowdray House, and engraved by Basire for the Society of Antiquaries, that Bankside was handsomely embanked (whence probably the name), and that the several landing-stairs were kept in excellent order. A row of small houses was ranged along the Bank, behind which were trees, and all beyond was country. On the south east side of London Bridge is the church of St Olave's, Tooley Street, which appears on our map under the name of S. Towleyes.

Old London naturally grew up along the banks of its river, which was the main artery of the city, and fully deserved the name that has been given to it of the ‘silent highway.’ The chief features of the north bank are shown in the map before us, and the names of the places are there marked. A few notes on these will now be given, beginning from the west side of the map.

Leicester house has a special interest from its association with Elizabeth's two favourites—Leicester and Essex. The mansion was originally the inn of the see of Exeter, held by lease from the Knights of St John of Jerusalem. At the Reformation it came into the possession of William Lord Paget, when it was called Paget Place. Dudley, Earl of Leicester, obtained it in Elizabeth's reign, and after his death, in 1588, it passed into the hands of his step-son, the unfortunate Earl of Essex, from whom it obtained its more permanent name of Essex House, a name which survives in Essex street. Spenser refers to this house and the two famous owners in his last poem, the *Prothalamion*. First of Leicester :—

'Next whereunto there standes a stately place,
Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace
Of that great Lord, which therein wont to dwell ;
Whose want too well now feels my freendles case.'

Then of Essex,

'Yet therein now doth lodge a noble Peer,
Great England's glory and the world's wide wonder,
Whose dreadfull name late through all Spaine did thunder,
And Hercules two pillors standing neere
Did make to quake and feare.'

The poet himself seems to have resided here for a short time, for in October 1579, he dated a letter to Gabriel Harvey, from 'Leycester House.'

The Temple, also alluded to by Spenser,—

'Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers,
There whylome wont the Templer Knights to bide,'

may well be considered as a Shaksperian locality, as the author of the first part of *Henry VI* makes the gardens the scene of the white and red rose-plucking of the respective adherents of the houses of York and Lancaster.

Whitefriars, the Alsatia of the outcasts of society, is alluded to in *Richard III*, in which play Gloucester orders the attendants to take the corpse of Henry VI to Whitefriars and await his coming.

Bridewell, called after the well of St Bride, was in Shakspeare's day a house of correction, but it had previously been used as a palace, and the third act of *Henry VIII* is supposed to be laid here. Ben Jonson named Bridewell Dock, 'Avernus.'

Blackfriars was the scene of Queen Katharine's trial, and several of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers lived within its precincts. In 1593 it had not become a Shaksperian locality; but long before this plays had been acted in the precinct. Burbage's theatre, the site of which is now indicated by Playhouse Yard, was not opened until 1596, and Shakspeare did not buy his house near Puddle Dock, the 'Abydos' of Ben Jonson, until 1612. Jonson himself dated the dedication to his *Volpone* 'from my house in the Black Friars this 11th day of February 1670.' In Carter lane, the thoroughfare above Blackfriars and below St Paul's, was the *Bell*, where Richard Quynne wrote his letter in 1598, directed, 'To my loveing good frend and countryman Mr William Shakespere deliver thees.'

Baynard's Castle was built by a follower of William the Conqueror named Baynard. In after times it was twice forfeited to the King, and

it was here that the Duke of Buckingham offered the crown to Richard of Gloucester.

Of *Paul's Wharf* nothing need be said. *Broken Wharf*, according to Stow, is 'so called of being broken and fallen into the Thames;' but others have affirmed that it was here old worn-out vessels were broken up. A year after the date of our map, Bevis Bulmer erected here his engine for supplying Cheapside and Fleet street with water from the Thames.

Queenhithe is said to have been originally called Edred's hithe, 'from Edred owner thereof,' but it has been known as Queen's bank or Queenhithe from a very early period. Peele, in his play of *Edward I*, also calls it Pottershithe, but Stow is silent as to this name. It was from this place that the Earl of Essex took boat for his own house, in February 1601, after he had fled down Friday street, on finding his mean of escape from the city cut off.

The Three Cranes, as Stow tells us, were not called 'of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry Wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there.' On February 1, 1553-4, Queen Mary took barge to Westminster from here after her visit to the city, to confer with the Lord Mayor about Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection. The site of Three Cranes Wharf is now occupied by the city end of Southwark bridge.

The Stilliarde or Steelyard was formerly the location of the Hanse Merchants, who are said to have obtained a settlement in London as early as the year 1250. The place derives its name from the King's steelyard or beam which was erected here for weighing the tonnage of goods imported into London. When the tonnage was transferred to the city authorities, the King's beam was moved first to Cornhill and afterwards to Weighhouse Yard in Little Eastcheap. The Hanse merchants had great privileges granted to them at various times, but five years after our map was made, they were expelled the kingdom by a proclamation of the Queen. The old Steelyard stood on the site of the present Cannon street station.

Shrewsbury House is better known as Cold-harbour, or Poultney's Inn. It was a large building of great antiquity, and in 1320 was demised or let to Henry Stow, draper. After a time the place was sold to Sir John de Poultney, who was four times Lord Mayor, and founded a college in the parish church of St Lawrence in Candlewick ward, now called St Lawrence Poultney. It then came into the possession of the crown, and here John, Earl of Huntingdon, magnificently entertained his half-brother Richard II. In 1483 the third Richard gave the house to the Heralds,

but after the battle of Bosworth they were turned out, and it became the temporary residence of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII. In the reign of Henry VIII, Bishop Tunstal was lodged at Coldharbour, but in the last year of Edward VI the house was taken from Tunstal and given to the Earl of Shrewsbury. In 1600 it was pulled down by Gilbert, seventh Earl, and a large number of small tenements were built upon the site.

The Old Swan is of great antiquity as a landing-place, and is mentioned in 'A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483.' It was the practice of all prudent persons who feared to trust themselves to the rapids which ran through the narrow arches of old London bridge, to land at the Swan stairs and walk to the east side of the bridge and take boat again there.

London bridge, which remained for a century and a half after the date of this map the only bridge in London, is well marked with its houses that did not disappear until 1758. There was at this time a drawbridge forming one of the twenty arches, which was raised to allow ships to pass through, and the vessel under sail appears to be making for this opening.

Lion key has a double derivation provided for it by Stow. He writes 'Lion key of one Lion, owner thereof, and since of the sign of a Lion.'

Billingsgate was not originally a fish market exclusively, but in Elizabeth's reign was 'an open place for the landing and bringing in of any fish, corn, salt stores, victuals and fruit (grocery wares excepted).' Norden seems to have been a believer in the theory that the place took its name from Belin or Bellyn, an ancient British king.

The Custom house here represented was built in Elizabeth's reign, and superseded a previous building which had been erected in 1385.¹ Three Custom houses have since been built on the same site.

Galley key is said to have been so called, because the galleys unloaded and landed their merchandise here, but Stow says that no gallies landed here 'in memorie of men living.' The place was at one time inhabited by foreigners, who passed among themselves silver coins of Genoa, called galley half-pence, and thus acted illegally. Another name of this part was Petty-Wales, given to it, according to Stow, on account of the residence there of the princes of Wales when they came to London.

The Tower, with its postern on Tower hill, and Traitor's gate on the Thames, is clearly defined.

The hospital of *St Katherine's* fills up the extreme eastern limit of the

¹ This building and its predecessor are associated with the memory of the poet Chaucer, whose daily work for about twelve years was performed there (June 1374 to December 1386).

map. Three years after Norden had published the result of his and Van den Keere's work, Queen Elizabeth appointed Sir Julius Cæsar Master. In 1825 the hospital was removed to the Regent's Park, and a spot of ground which was chosen for the purpose by Matilda, wife of king Stephen, and was associated with the memories of Eleanor, Queen of Edward I, and Philippa, Queen of Edward III, was denuded of all that gave it interest. It now forms a part of the St Katherine Docks.

Having noticed some of the chief features of the map and the names marked upon it, we will now take the references at the side in the order in which they stand, although it is not easy to make out the principle upon which the letters and numbers are arranged.

a Bishopsgate street within the walls extends from the gate to the church of St Martin Outwich, which is marked just below the letter *a*. Here was, as Stow tells us, 'a fair well with two buckets,' and the church itself was sometimes called 'St Martin's with the well and two buckets.' In the yard of the Bull Inn in Bishopsgate street plays were acted by Tarlton and other early actors. Anthony Bacon (the brother of Francis) lived near the Bull, and his mother feared that the plays and interludes acted there would corrupt his servants. The road outside the gate which led to Shoreditch had not at this time been much built upon.

b The Pappey, according to Stow, was the house of a brotherhood of St Charity and St John the Evangelist, 'for poor impotent priests,' which was founded close to the wall and a little to the east of Bishopsgate, in 1430. The fraternity was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI, and in Elizabeth's reign Sir Francis Walsingham lived in the house before he went to Seething lane.

c All-hallows in the wall, which stood to the west of Bishopsgate, was one of the few churches which escaped the Fire. In 1764 it was pulled down and the present church erected in its place.

d S. Taphyns is meant for the church of St Alphage,¹ London Wall, situated in the east of Cripplegate. It was a part of the priory or hospital of St Mary the Virgin, founded in 1332 by W. Elsing. The present church was erected on the site of the old one in 1777.

e Silver street, just below Cripplegate, was so called, Stow thinks, on account of the silversmiths that dwelt there. Ben Jonson calls it 'the region of money, a good seat for an usurer' (*The Staple of News*).

f Aldermanbury runs down to the thoroughfare above Cheapside,

¹ This addition of an initial T, obtained from the final t of Saint, is an example of the rule followed in Towley, Tantony, &c., but the change of *age* into *ys* seemed a difficulty until Mr Hales found in Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle* a reference to 'Seynt Alfin's body' (ed. Hearne, repr. 1810, p. 319).

which is unmarked in the map, but consisted of Lad lane and Cateaton Street (now Gresham street).

g Barbican. In this street originally stood the watch tower or outpost of Cripple-gate. At the east end of the street is a \times like the letter \mathcal{L} , which is intended to represent the red cross in Red cross street. After the date of the map the Barbican gained interest for us by becoming the residence of Sir Henry Spelman and of Milton. The street that leads up to the north, immediately above the \times , is Golden lane, to the east of which the Fortune theatre was built by Henslow and Alleyn in 1599-1600.

h Aldersgate street leads up north from the gate to Barbican, two doors from which was the Bell, the inn that John Taylor the Waterpoet started from on his pennyless pilgrimage to Scotland, in 1618.

In this street died the Countess of Pembroke, 'Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother.'

i Charterhouse, above West Smithfield, was at this time in the possession of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, to whom it was given by Elizabeth. The Queen stayed here in 1558, and James I in 1603. In 1611 Lord Suffolk sold the old monastery to Thomas Sutton, who founded what Fuller called the 'masterpiece of Protestant English charity.'

k Holborn conduit, by Snow hill, was first built in 1498, and repaired by William Lamb in 1577, the memory of whose good work still lives in Lamb's Conduit street, built on the site of the fields where Lamb collected his waters and made a reservoir to feed this conduit.

l Chancery lane, opposite Gray's Inn gate, according to Stow, was originally called New Street. In the very year that Norden made his map Thomas Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, was born in this lane.

m Temple bar, near the western limit of the map, was something more than a mere barrier even at this period. It appears to have been a wooden erection with gates; and when Queen Elizabeth went to St Paul's to return thanks for the defeat of the Spanish Armada the waits of the city were placed 'over the gate of the Temple bar.'

n Holborn was well thought of on account of the freshness and salubrity of the air. John Gerard (Burghley's gardener for twenty years) was living here in 1597, when he published the first edition of his *Herbal*, which he dates 'from my house in Holborn within the suburbs of London.' This house and the garden attached appear to have been situated on the south side of the road, and were probably at the corner of Fetter lane. Nearly opposite St Andrew's church Ely place, with its celebrated garden of forty acres, is marked. Two years before the date of this map

Sir Christopher Hatton died in the house. When Elizabeth made the Bishop of Ely give up his palace to her favourite, the Bishop reserved to himself the right of gathering twenty bushels of roses out of the garden yearly. Holinshed reports that Richard of Gloucester asked a former Bishop for some strawberries from his garden, and Shakspeare adopts the passage in his *Richard III*. Hatton Garden now marks the position of the place, and Hatton Wall the northern limit of the garden. Nearly opposite to Gray's Inn Lane, and where Southampton Buildings are now, stood Southampton House, the town mansion of the Wriothesley family for more than a century. It was given to Lord Chancellor Wriothesley, first Earl of Southampton in Edward VI's reign, who died here in 1550, and was pulled down by the fourth Earl of Southampton (son of Shakspeare's Earl) about 1652, when he built his new house on the north side of Bloomsbury Square, which was afterwards known as Bedford House.

o Gray's Inn lane leads up north from Holborn, and the upper portion of the thoroughfare is called 'the way to Hampstead.'

p St Andrews, Holborn, was an old church which contained monuments of Thomas Lord Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, referred to above, who was buried in 1550, and Ralph Rokeby, one of the masters of St Katherine's, who died in 1596. The present church stands on the site of the old one.

q Newgate was first erected, according to Stow, about the reign of Henry I or Stephen.

r St John's, Clerkenwell, the little triangular spot to the west of the Charterhouse, is hardly to be recognized under the form of 'S. Jones.' A great part of the old priory church of St John of Jerusalem was destroyed in the reign of Edward VI, and the stones used in the building of Somerset house. The office of the Revels was held here after the master of the Revels left Blackfriars and before he removed to St Peter's Hill, Doctors' Commons, and here the court plays were rehearsed.

s St Nicholas Shambles, the church between *s* and *t*, was so named from the shambles or stalls of the butchers which stood in the street that led from Newgate to Cheapside.

t Cheapside is chiefly interesting as a Shaksperian locality from the Mermaid tavern being situated in it. This world-renowned house is sometimes described as in Bread street, and at other times in Friday street, and also in Cheapside. We are thus able to fix its exact position. To the left of the eastern letter *t* on the map is Bow church, next which, on the west, is Bread street, then a block of houses, then Friday street. It was in this block that the 'Mermaid' was situated, and there appear

to have been entrances from each street. What makes this fact still more certain is the circumstance that a haberdasher in Cheapside living 'twixt Wood street and Milk street' described himself as 'over against the Mermaid tavern in Cheapside.' These two streets, on the north side of the main thoroughfare, are shown on the map, but their names are not marked. The cross that succeeded the Eleanor cross is figured at the end of Friday street close by the Mermaid, and the Standard opposite Bow church not far from the eastern *t*. The great conduit stood in the middle of the street near the Poultry, and the little conduit at the other end near Foster lane, which runs up above the western *t*. Harrison himself was born in 'Cordwainers Street otherwise called Bow Lane' (pp. x, xlix, above), which runs south from the eastern *t*. Howes, the continuer of Stow's *Annales*, says that Cheapside, which was worthily called the 'Beauty of London' in his day, 'was formerly very meanly furnished on the north side.'

u Bucklersbury, below the Poultry, is interesting as the residence of Sir Thomas More and the birthplace of Margaret Roper and his other children. It was chiefly inhabited by druggists and grocers, and the smell in the street, 'in simple time,' helped Falstaff to a simile.

w Broad street, leading up to the wall, had Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, for one of its inhabitants in Elizabeth's reign.

x The Stocks mark the site where the Mansion house was built in 1739, and the Stocks market, which stood here for several centuries, took its name from them.

y The Exchange had only been opened two-and-twenty years when this map was made. In 1571 Queen Elizabeth, after dining with Sir Thomas Gresham in Bishopsgate street, visited the newly erected 'Burse,' and caused the herald to proclaim it the Royal Exchange, 'so to be called from thenceforth and no otherwise.'

z Cornhill was called after the corn market that was once held there. Stow reports that he had 'seen a quinten set upon Cornehill, by the Leadenhall, where the attendants on the Lords of the merry disports have run and made great pastime.'

We now come to the number references, which begin with

2 *Coleman street*, running up from Cateaton street to the wall by Moorgate. Justice Clement, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, lived in this street.

3 *Basinghall street* is the next turning on the west, and takes its name from Bassings Hall, formerly the residence of the important London family of Bassings in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

* Sir Thomas More was born in Milk Street; 'the brightest star that ever shone in that *via lactea*,' says Fuller.

4 *Houndsditch*, extending outside the city wall from Bishopsgate to Aldgate, was even at the time of this map notorious for its brokers.

5 *Leadenhall* was originally a manor house, and afterwards used as a market. It was situated on the south side of the thoroughfare afterwards known as Leadenhall street.

6 *Gracechurch street* is here called Gracious street. Stow terms it 'Grasse Street,' and he is nearer the original form, for the name is said to be derived from the herb market that was once held there. Richard Tarlton, the Elizabethan actor, lived at the Saba tavern in this street, and Bankes exhibited his wonderful horse Marocco at the Cross Keys Inn.

7 *Heneage House* was situated near the London wall, between Bishopsgate and Aldgate, and took its name from Thomas Heneage and his son Sir Thomas, who was step-father to Shakspeare's Lord Southampton. Bevis Marks shows the site.

8 *Fenchurch street*, which extends from Gracechurch street to Aldgate (called here Fanchurche), has an Elizabethan interest on account of the dinner of pork and peas which the Queen ate at the King's Head in this street after her release from the Tower in 1554.

9 *Mark lane*, running down from Fenchurch street to Tower street, is the Marte lane of Stow. The next street to the east is Seething lane, where Sir Francis Walsingham lived, and where he died about midnight of the 6th of April, 1590. The Earl of Essex, Walsingham's son-in-law, also had a house here, as well as his mansion on the Thames. On Sunday, Feb. 8, 1601, when he made his rash entry into the city with a following of gallants, the multitude supposed that he and the Queen were made friends, and that he was riding thus triumphantly 'unto his home in Seeding Lane.' So they cried God save your honour, God bless your honour. Essex soon found that his treasonable purpose was frustrated by the prompt action of those in authority; and dispirited, faint, and deserted by his followers, he hurried as best he could to the Thames in order to escape to Essex House, which he fortified 'with full purpose to die in his owne defence.'

Essex's son, Robert Devereux, afterwards third Earl of Essex, and the Parliamentary Commander-in-chief, who died in 1646, was baptized at the house of his grandmother, Lady Walsingham, in Seeding lane, on the 22nd of January, 1591.

10 *Mincing lane* is the next street to the west. It is written Mincheon lane by Stow, who derives the name from the Minchuns or nuns of St Helen's in Bishopsgate street.

11 *St Paul's* was so severely injured in 1561 that it was necessary to

take the steeple down, and a new one was never built. The fine old cathedral is here figured with its low tower only. St Paul's Churchyard before the Fire was chiefly inhabited by booksellers, and several of the early editions of Shakspeare's poems and plays were published here. *Venus and Adonis*, 1593, was to be sold at the White Greyhound, where also J. Harrison published the *Rape of Lucrece*, 1594. The first edition of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* appeared at the Flower de Luce and Crown, kept by A. Johnson; the first edition of the *Merchant of Venice* at the Green Dragon, by T. Heyes; the first editions of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *First part of Henry IV*, at the Angel, by A. Wise; the first edition of *Troilus and Cressida* at the Spread Eagle over against the great north door of Paul's, by R. Bonian and H. Whalley; the first edition of *Lear* at the Pied Bull, by N. Butter, and the first known edition of *Titus Andronicus*, at the Gun, near the little north door of Paul's, by E. White. M. Law published several of the quartos at the Fox.

12 *Eastcheap* was chiefly occupied by butchers, tavern-keepers, and cooks. The 'Boar's Head,' immortalized by Shakspeare as the chosen resort of Jack Falstaff and his roystering companions, was situated in the Great Eastcheap, and has been described as near the London stone which is marked 17 in this map. It did in fact stand about the spot now occupied by the statue of William IV.

13 *Fleet street* is marked as a wide thoroughfare with the old church of St Bride's (above Bridewell) standing out in the road.

14 *Fetter lane* is called Fewter lane by Stow, who derives the name from the feters or idle people that hung about it at one time. The Fleet street and Holborn ends of the lane were both used as places of public execution.

15 *St Dunstan's* in the west, close by Temple bar, has its name sadly maltreated in the map. It is probable that the Dutch engraver could not read Norden's writing, for no Englishman would have written *Dunshous*. Under the dial of the old projecting clock was the shop of John Smethwick, the publisher of the 1609 edition of *Romeo and Juliet* and of several editions of *Hamlet*.

16 *Thames street* was the same long thoroughfare that it is now. In that part of this street just above the *Stilliarde*, John Chaucer, vintner and father of the poet, had his tavern or wine shop, and there Geoffrey probably gathered some of the materials for those pictures of life and character he afterwards bestowed upon the world.

17 *London Stone*, then on the south side of Cannon street, near the west end of Eastcheap, is introduced in the second part of *Henry VI*

(act iv. sc. 6), where Jack Cade is made to strike the stone and assert his lordship of the city. The incident is taken from Holinshed, and shows the strength of the old tradition that the British kings took their oaths on the stone at their accession. Until they had done so they were looked upon as only kings presumptive. The stone has twice been removed since the date of this map.

18 *Old Bailey*, outside Newgate, was the birthplace of the greatest of antiquaries, William Camden, born May 2, 1551.

19 *Clerkenwell* was situated at the extreme north-western limit of the city at the time this map was made. This place was famous for its plays in early times. Clerkenwell takes its name from the well near which the parish clerks of London assembled yearly 'to play some large history of Holy Scripture.' Skinner's well close by was so called because the Skinners of London also performed miracle plays there each year. In 1390 the clerks acted a play at Skinner's Well which lasted three days, and in 1409 one from the creation of the world, which lasted eight days. The King (Richard II) and Queen with their court attended the first, and 'most part of the nobles and gentles in England' were spectators at the last.

20 *Winchester House*, the town residence of the Bishops of Winchester for several centuries, is clearly shown in the map, with its handsome gardens situated near the church of St Mary Overies (or St Saviour's). Stow describes it as 'a very fair house, well repaired, with a large wharf and landing place called the Bishop of Winchester's stairs.' About forty years before 1593, Bishop Gardiner was living here in great state.

21 *Battle bridge*, Southwark, does not take its name from any military engagement, but from its nearness to the Abbot of Battle's Inn, or London residence.

22 *Bermondsey street* led down to the site of the old priory of Bermondsey which was beyond the limits of our map.

Norden's own words in concluding his description of the city will not be out of place here:—'It (London) is most sweetely scituate upon the Thamis, served with all kind of necessaries most commodiouslie. The aire is healthfull, it is populous, rich and beautiful; be it also faithfull, loving and faithfull.'

From this map we may learn to understand the outline of the city in which Shakspeare dwelt for some years, and the position of the places he visited; but for glimpses of the life that was lived in these narrow streets and open spaces we must seek elsewhere.

H. B. W.

September, 1876.

'A Description of England,

or ¹

**a briefe rehersall of the nature and qualities of the people
of England**

and such commodities as are to be found in the same.

comprehended in two² bookes, and

written by W. H.

[THAT IS,

WILLIAM HARRISON, B.D., CAMB.,

RECTOR OF RADWINTER, CANON OF WINDSOR.



**THE 2ND EDITION OF 1587, COLLATED WITH THE 1ST EDITION OF 1577,
AS PREFIXT TO HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLE.]**

¹ 'An Historiall description of the Iland of Britaine, with '—Heading of the whole
Treatise, with Book I. ed. 1587. ² three.—*ib.*

HARRISON'S PREFACE.

To the Right Honorable, and his singular good Lord and Maister,
S. William Brooke, Knight, Lord Warden of the cinque Ports,
and Baron of Cobham, all increase of the feare and knowledge
of God, firme obedience toward his Prince, infallible loue to
the common wealth, and commendable renowme here in this
world, and in the world to come life euerlasting.



Auing had iust occasion, Right Honorable, to
remaine in London during the time of Trinitie¹
terme last passed, and being earnestlie required
of diuers my freends to set downe some breefe
discourse of parcell of those things which I had
observed in the reading of such manifold anti-
quities as I had perused toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which
I haue yet² in hand; I was at the first verie loth to yeeld to their
desires: first, for that I thought my selfe vnable for want of skill³
and iudgment, so suddenlie & ⁴with so hastie⁴ speed to take such a
charge vpon me: secondlie, bicause the dealing therein might prooue
an [hinderance and] impechment vnto mine owne Treatise; and
finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all [earnest] studie of histories,
as iudging the time spent about the same, to be an hinderance vnto
my more necessarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto
I am called in the ministerie. But when they were so importunate
with me, that no reasonable excuse could serue to put by this
trauell, I condescended at the length vnto their yrkesome sute, pro-
mising that I would spend such void time as I had to spare, whilst
I should be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon some thing or other
that should [satisfie their request; and] stand in lieu of a descrip-
tion of my Countrie. For their parts also they assured me of such
helps as they could purchase: and thus with hope of good, although
no gaie successe, I went in hand withall, then almost as one leaning
altogither vnto memorie, sith my books and I were parted by fourtie

¹ Midsomer² had then³ witte⁴—⁴ such

miles in sunder. In this order also I spent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes insuing, being inforced thereto, I say, by other businesses which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and absent my selfe from my charge, though in the meane season I had some repaire vnto my [poore] librarie, but not so great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers hast would suffer. One helpe, and none of the smallest that I obtained herein, was by such commentaries as *Leland* had sometime collected¹ of the state of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of sundrie volumes; secondlie, I gat some knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from sundrie places & shires of England, but so discordant now & then amongst themselues, especiallie in the names & courses of riuers and situation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them [one with an other, than orderlie] to pen the whole discourse of such points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table, or secretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, choosing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one desirous to set foorth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true. The last comfort arose by mine owne reading of such writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in speaking wherof, if I should make account of the successe, & extraordinarie comming by sundrie treatises not supposed to be extant, I should but seeme to pronounce more than may well be said with modestie, & say farder of my selfe than this Treatise can beare witnes of. Howbeit, ²I refer not this successe wholie vnto my purpose about³ this Description, but rather giue notice thereof to come to passe in the penning of my Chronologie, whose crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the processe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the substance of that which is here declared, I must needs confesse that it is none of mine owne; but if your Lordship haue consideration of the barbarous composition shewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, sith there is no man of any so slender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, disorder, and euill disposition of matter comprehended in the same. Certes I protest before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choise of stile, or⁴ words, neither regarded to

¹ collected sometime ² back of leaf. ³ in, ed. 1577. ⁴ or picked

handle this Treatise in such precise order and method as manie other would [haue done], thinking it sufficient, truelie and plainelie to set foorth such things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten sepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof, manie know, and peradventure the slacknesse shewed herein can better testifie: but howsoever it be done, & whatsoever I haue done, I haue had an especiall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the rest, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatise of mine will prooue a spur to others better learned, ¹more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choise of matter¹ to handle the self same argument,² if in my life time I do not peruse it againe.³ It is possible also that your Honour will mislike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eyesight viewed such things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I must needs confesse, that [vntill now of late,] except it were from the parish where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40 miles [foorthright and at one iourney] in all my life; neuerthelesse in my report of these things, I vse their authorities, who [either] haue performed in their persons, [or left in writing vpon sufficient ground (as I said before)] whatsoever is wanting in mine. It may be in like sort that your Honour will take offense at my rash and retchlesse behauiour vsed in the composition of this volume, and much more that, being scrambled vp after this maner, I dare presume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordships hands. But when I consider the singular affection that your Honour dooth beare to those that in any wise will trauell to set foorth such [profitable] things as lie hidden,³ and there vnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to such a one as hath so manie and sundrie waies

¹— in more skilfull manner

²— As for faultes escaped herein, as there are diuers, I must needs confesse, both in the penning and printing, so I haue to craue pardon of your Honour, & of all the learned readers. For such was my shortnesse of time allowed in the writing, & so great the speede made in the Printing, that I could seldome with any deliberation peruse, or almost with any iudgement deliberate exactly vpon, such notes as were to be inserted. Sometimes in deede their leysure gaue me libertie, but that I applied in following my vocation; many times their expedition abridged my perusall; and by this later it came to passe, that most of this booke was no sooner penned then printed, neither well conceyued before it came to writing. But it is now to late to excuse the maner of doing.

³ of their countries, without regarde of fine & eloquent handling

benefited¹ me that otherwise can make no recompense, I can not but cut off all such occasion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, such as it is, and so penned as it is, vnto your Lordships tuition, vnto whome if it may seeme in anie wise acceptable, I haue my whole desire. And as I am the first that (notwithstanding the great repugnancie to be seene among our writers) hath taken vpon him so particularlie to describe this Ile of Britaine; so I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amisse. As for the curious, and such as can rather euill faouoredlie espie, than skilfullie correct an error, and sooner carpe at another mans doings than publish anything of their owne, (keeping themselues close with an obscure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common sort) I force not what they saie hereof: for whether it doo please or displease them, all is one to me, sith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and such as are of experience to consider of my trauell, and the large scope of things purposed in this Treatise, of whome my seruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompense and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightye God preserue your Lordship in continuall health, wealth, and prosperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children (whom God hath indued with a singular towardnesse vnto all vertue and learning), and the rest of [your] reformed familie, vnto whom I wish farder increase of his holie spirit, vnderstanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and ²continuance of³ zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble seruant
and houshold Chaplein, W. H.

¹ profited and preferred

^{2—2} finally an earnest

The Contents of the second Booke.

[p. 131]

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 <i>Of the ancient and present estate of the church of England</i>, p. 1.</p> <p>2 <i>Of the number of bishopricks and their severall circuits</i>, p. 38.</p> <p>3 <i>Of universities</i>, p. 70.</p> <p>4 <i>Of the partition of England into shires and counties</i>, p. 90.</p> <p>5 <i>Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England</i>, p. 105.</p> <p>6 <i>Of the food and diet of the English</i>, p. 141.</p> <p>7 <i>Of their apparell and attire</i>, p. 167.</p> <p>8 <i>Of the high court of parlement & authoritie of the same</i>, p. 173.</p> <p>9 <i>Of the lawes of England since hir first inhabitation</i>, p. 188.</p> <p>10 <i>Of prouision made for the poore</i>, p. 212.</p> <p>11 <i>Of sundrie kinds of punishment ap-</i></p> | <p><i>pointed for malefactors</i>, p. 221.</p> <p>12 <i>Of the maner of building and furniture of our houses</i>, pp. 233 & 337-9, 341.</p> <p>13 <i>Of cities and townes in England</i>, p. 244.</p> <p>14 <i>Of castels and holds</i>, p. 262.</p> <p>15 <i>Of palaces belonging to the prince</i>, p. 267.</p> <p>16 <i>Of armour and munition</i>, p. 278.</p> <p>17 <i>Of the nauie of England</i>, p. 285.</p> <p>18 <i>Of faires and markets</i>, p. 294.</p> <p>19 <i>Of parkes and warrens</i>, p. 303.</p> <p>20 <i>Of gardens and orchards</i>, p. 322.</p> <p>21 <i>Of waters generallie</i>, p. 332.</p> <p>22 <i>Of woods and marishes</i>, p. 336.</p> <p>23 <i>Of baths and hot welles</i>, p. 347.</p> <p>24 <i>Of antiquities found</i>, p. 356.</p> <p>25 <i>Of the coines of England</i>, p. 361.</p> <p>(<i>Notes on Trees, Richborow</i>, p. 366.)</p> |
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¹Of the [ancient and]² present estate of the church of England.³

Chap. 1.⁴

Here are [now] two prouinces [onellie] in England, of which the first and greatest is subiect to the see of Canturburie, [comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & also

The English Church has now
Two Provinces,
1. Canterbury,

¹ A good deal of this chapter and the following one is mere compilation; but there are interesting bits of Harrison's own self and time in his 'old cocke of Canturburie' (p. 9), the prophecies or conferences then lately begun, and soon closed (p. 19), the taxes on parsons (p. 22), the church being the ass for every market-man to ride on (p. 26), the then state of the churches, and abolition of Feast and Gild-days (p. 32), the Popish priest drest like a dancing peacock (p. 33), the contempt felt for the ministry, and their poverty (p. 37).—F.

I sign all the notes that are not various readings of the 1st edition of 1577.—F.

² The square brackets [] show the insertions of the 2nd ed. of 1686 in the 1st ed. of 1577. The italic side-notes are Harrison's or John Hooker's.—F.

³ England and Wales.

⁴ Chap. 5.

⁵—⁶ From ed. 1577.—F.

HARRISON.

Ireland, which in time past were feuerall, & brought into one by the archbishop of the said see, & assistance of the pope; who in respect of meed, did yeeld vnto the ambitious desires of fundrie archbishops of Canturburie, as I haue elsiewhere declared.] The second prouince ¹ is vnder the see¹ of Yorke; and of these, either hath hir archbishop resident commonlie² within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters appertaining to the hierarchie and iurisdiction of the church; but also great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: so far forth as their [commissions and] feuerall circuits doo extend.

II. York;
and each has its
Archbishop.

Of old were 3
Archbishops:
those of London,
York, and
Caerleon;

but London was
translated to
Canterbury,

and Caerleon
was united
to it,

after having
been removed
to St David's.

[³ p. 132]

The Archbishop
of Canterbury
is Primate of
all England.

He crowns
kings,

[In old time there were three archbishops, and so manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerlleon vpon Uske. But as that of London was translated to Canturburie by Augustine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithstanding that the greatest part of his iurisdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scottish archbishop), so that of Caerlleon is vtterlie extinguished, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in spirituall cafes: after it was once before remoued to S. Dauids ³ in Wales, by Dauid succeffor to Dubritius, and vncke to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Saxons; where it remained till the time of the Bastard, and for a season after, before it was annexed vnto the see of Canturburie.]

The archbishop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, [and all other times, wherein it shall please the prince to weare and put on his crowne,] his office is to set it ⁴ vpon their heads. They beare also the name of their high chapleins continuallie,⁵ although

¹—¹ to that

² continually

⁴ the Crowne

⁵ perpetually

not a few of them haue presumed (in time past) to be their equals, and void of¹ subiection vnto them. ² That this is true, it³ may easilie appeere by their owne acts [yet kept in record; beside their] epistles & answers [written or in print;] wherein they haue sought, not onelie to match but also to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. [Our aduersaries will peraduenture denie this absolutelie, as they doo manie other things apparant, though not without shamelesse impudencie, or at the least wile defend it as iust and not swaruing from common equitie; bicause they imagine euerie archbishop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their dooing herein agreeth with the saieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may easilie appeere. Some examples also of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, leaft they should saie I speake of malice, and without all ground of likelihood.

and some have
claimed to be
kings' equals,

even in
tyranny.
[This insertion
ends at p. 8.]

But this agrees
not with St
Peter's words.

Of their practises with meane persons I speake not, neither will I begin at Dunstane, the author of all their pride and presumption here in England. But for somuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman against earle Goodwine is a rare historie, and deserueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; protesting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore beene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French English, who (of set purpose) haue so defaced earle Goodwine, that were it not for the testimonie of one or two meere Englishmen liuing in those daies, it should be impossible for me (or anie other) at this present to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumstances. Marke therefore what I saie. For the truth is, that such Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confessor, did fall by fundrie means into such fauor

Dunstan was
the author of
their pride in
England.
I'll tell you
how Robert,
a Norman
priest, acted
against Earl
Godwin.

The Normans
who came in
with Emma

¹ of any

²⁻³ which

got high places
at Court,
and the best
benefices.
Robert became
Archbishop of
Canterbury,
and Ulfo,
Bishop of
Lincoln.

[with those princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be possessors of the best benefices in the land. Hervpon therefore one Robert, a iolie ambitious preest, gat first to be bishop of London, and after the death of Eadsius, to be archbishop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former see to William his countrieman. Ulfo, also a Norman, was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

These Normans
abused the
English,
yet King Ed-
ward put them
on his Council.
Earl Godwin's
servants at-
tackt some
French ser-
vants,
and so the
French courtiers
sought revenge.
Archbishop
Robert accusd
Earl Godwin
of
murdering
Alfred, the
king's brother,
whom Harold
and his Danes
had killd

These Norman clerkes, and their freends, being thus exalted, it was not long yer they began to mocke, abuse, and despise the English: and so much the more, as they dailie saw themselues to increase in fauour with king Edward, who also called diuerse of them to be of his secreet councell, which did not a litle incense the harts of the English against them. A fraie also was made at Douer, betweene the seruants of earle Goodwine and the French, whose maisters came ouer to see and salute the king: whereof I haue spoken in my Chronologie,¹ which so inflamed the minds of the French cleargie and courtiers against the English nobilitie, that each part fought for opportunitie of reuenge, which yer long tooke hold betweene them. For the said Robert, being called to be archbishop of Canturburie, was no sooner in possession of his see, than he began to quarrell with earle Goodwine (the kings father in law by the mariage of his daughter) who also was readie to acquit his demeanor with like malice; and so the mischief began. Herevpon therefore the archbishop charged the earle with the murther of Alfred the kings brother, whom not he, but Harald the sonne of Canutus, and the Danes, had cruellie made awaie. For Alfred and his brother comming into the land with fise and twenty saile, vpon the death of Canutus, and being landed, the Normans that arriued

¹ Another book, which Harrison has 'yet in hand.'—*Dedication.*

[with them giuing out how they came to recouer their right, to wit, the crowne of England; & therevnto the vnskilfull yoong gentlemen, shewing themselues to like of the rumour that was spred in this behalfe, the report of their demeanor was quicklie brought to Harald, who caused a companie foorthwith of Danes priuile to laie wait for them, as they roade toward Gilford, where Alfred was slaine, and whence Edward with much difficultie escaped to his ships, and so returned into Normandie.

as he rode
towards Guild-
ford.

But to proceed. This affirmation of the archbishop being greatlie soothed out with his craftie vtterance (for he was lerned) confirmed by his French freends, (for they had all conspired against the erle) and therevnto the king being desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, bred such a grudge in his mind against Goodwine, that he banished him and his sons cleane out of the land. He sent also his wife, the erles daughter, prisoner to Wilton, with one onelie maiden attending vpon hir, where she laie almost a yeare before she was releafed. In the meane season, the rest of the peeres, as Siward earle of Northumberland furnamed Digara or *Fortis*, Leofric earle of Chester, and other, went to the king, before the departure of Goodwine, indeuouring to persuaue him vnto the reuocation of his sentence; and desiring that his cause might be heard and discuffed by order of law. But the king incensed by the archbishop and his Normans would not heare on that side, saieng plainelie, and swearing by saint John the euangelist (for that was his common oth) that earle Goodwine should not haue his peace till he restored his brother Alfred aliue againe vnto his presence. With which answer the peeres departed in choler from the court, and Goodwine toward the coast.

This lie of
Archbishop
Robert's,

king Edward
believd;
banisht God-
win and his
sons; and
imprisoned
his own wife,
Godwin's
daughter.

Siward and
Leofric
interceded
for Godwin,

but the king
swore he would
not relent

unless his
brother Alfred
were brought
to him aliue.
Earl Godwin
went to the
coast,

Comming also vnto the shore, and readie to take shipping, he kneeled downe in presence of his conduct (to wit at Bosenham in the moneth of September, from

and there vowd
he'd never rebel
against the
king.

Soon after he
got on board

he saw soldiers,
sent by the
Archbishop,
come to the
shore to kill
him.

Arrivd in
Flanders,
Godwin got
fresh entreaty
made to
Edward, but
in vain.

So he invaded
England,
and came to
Southwark.

[¹ p. 183, ed
1586]
The Londoners

took them into
the City, and
many folk
joind them.

[whence he intended to faile into Flanders vnto Baldwin the earle) and there praied openlie before them all, that if euer he attempted anie thing against the kings perfon of England, or his roiall estate, that he might neuer come fafe vnto his coufine, nor see his countrie any more, but perish in this voiage. And herewith he went aboard the ship that was prouided for him, and so from the coast into the open sea. Bat see what followed. He was not yet gone a mile waie from the land, before he saw the shore full of armed souldiers, sent after by the archbishop and his freends to kill him yer he should depart and go out of the countrie : which yet more incensed the harts of the English against them.

Being come also to Flanders, he caused the earle, the French king, and other of his freends, among whome also the emperour was one, to write vnto the king in his behalfe ; but all in vaine ; for nothing could be obtained from him, of which the Normans had no liking, wherevpon the earle and his sonnes changed their minds, obtained aid, and inuaded the land in sundry places. Finallie ioining their powers, they came by the Thames into Southwarke neere London, where they lodged, and looked for the king to ¹incounter with them in the field. The king seeing what was doone, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made answer, how the quarrell of Goodwine was the cause of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the spoile of the French : and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them abundantlie, but also received the earle and his chiefe freendes into the citie, where they lodged them at their ease, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great resort also was made vnto them from all places of the realme, so that the earles armie was woonderfullie increased, and the daie and place chofen

[wherein the battell should be fought. But when the armies met, the kings side began, some to flee to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the rest telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight against their owne countriemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans also seeing the sequele, fled awaie so fast as they might gallop, leauing the king in the field to shift for himselfe (as he best might) whilest they did saue themselues elswhere.

When the fight began, Edward's men went over to Godwin,

the Normans fled,

In the meane season the earles power would haue fet vpon the king, either to his slaughter, or apprehension; but he staied them, saieng after this maner: "The king is my sonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale so hardlie with his child, neither a subiect with his souereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or doone me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will doo him no violence." And therewithall casting aside his battell ax, he ran to the king, that stood altogether amazed, and falling at his feet he craued his peace, accused the archbishop, required that his cause might be heard in open assemblie of his peeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie should deserue.

but Godwin stopt his men from falling on Edward, laid

the blame on the Normans

and prayd Edward

to try him fairly.

The king (after he had paused a pretie while) seeing his old father in law to lie groueling¹ at his feet, and conceiuing with himselfe that his sute was not vnreasonable; seeing also his children, and the rest of the greatest barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like request: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was past, and freendlie hauing kissed him and his sonnes vpon the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the queene, and summoned all his lords vnto a counsell.

Edward at once

forgave Godwin,

calld a Council,

¹ This is the adverb in *-ling* (A.Sax. *-linga*, *-lunga*), as Dr R. Morris has shown in the Philol. Soc. Trans. 1862-3, p. 88.—F.

heard proofs of
the Normans'
crimes, and

banisht them
from England.

Here ends the
1st clergy-broil.

For others, see
those of
Anselm
and Becket.

Anselm's hy-
pocrisy is shown
by his feigned
unwillingness
to take the see
of Canterbury,
when he said

[Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were presented against the bishop & his Normans; some conteining matter of rape, other of robbery, extortion, murder, manslaughter, high treason, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of sleepe) was so offended, that vpon consultation had of these things, he banished all the Normans out of the land, onelie three or foure excepted, whome he retained for fundrie necessarie causes, albeit they came neuer more so neere him afterward as to be of his priue counsell.

After this also the earle liued almost two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he sat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our first broile raised by the cleargie, and practise of the archbishop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practised by the prelats of this see, against their lords and souereignes: but then I should rather write an historie than a description of this Iland.

¹ Wherefore I refer you to those reports of Anselme and Becket, sufficientlie penned by other, the which Anselme also] making¹ a shew, as if he had bin verie vnwilling to be placed in the see of Canturburie, gaue this² answer to the letters of such his freends, as³ did make³ request vnto him to take the³ charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia nescio, quia scire nolo, eorum namque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animus. Voluntati sacrarum intendo scripturarum, vos diffonantiam facitis, verendumque est ne aratrum sanctæ ecclesiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id est, rex & archiepiscopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, dis-*

¹—¹ Examples hereof I could bring many, but this one shall suffice of Anselme who making

² his

³—³ made

⁴ that

torqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui si quietus essem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus possem fortassis non ingratus esse, sed si me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro disparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c. Which is in English thus¹:

‘Of secular affaires I haue no skill, bicause I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that rise about them, as one that desireth to haue his mind at libertie. I applie my whole indeuor to the rule of the scriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. [And] it is to be feared least² the plough of holie church, which two strong oxen of equall force, and both like earnest to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbishop) ought to draw, should thereby now swarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old sheepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old sheepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture shew my selfe not altogether vngratfull to some, by feeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with wooll: but if you match me with this bull, you shall see that, thorough want of equalitie in draught, the plough will not go to right &c:” as foloweth in the proceffe of his letters. [The said] Thomas Becket was so proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the second, as to his lord, to his king, and to his sonne, offering him his counsell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like sort haue protested, that they owght³ nothing to the kings of this land, but their counsell onelie, reseruing all obedience vnto the see of Rome.⁴

he knew nothing of secular affairs,

thought only of the scriptures,

calld himself an old Sheepe, and the King a wild Bull.

Thomas Becket was proud too.

[And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, so the young cockerels of other sees did imitate his demeanor, as may be seene by this one example also in king Stephans time, worthie to be re-

Like the old Cock, crowd the cockerel's witness, the Bp of London in Stephen's time

¹ this

² lest

³ owed.—F.

⁴ Rome. whereby we may easily see the pride & ambition of the cleargie in the blinde tyme of ignorance.

membred; vnto whome the bishop of London would not so much as sweare to be true subiect: wherein also he was maintained by the pope, as appeareth by these letters.

(whom the Pope
told the King

Eugenius episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, dilecto in Christo filio Stephano illustri regi Anglorum salutem. Et apostolicam benedictionem. Ad hæc superna prouidentia in ecclesia pontifices ordinauit, ut Christianus populus ab eis pascua vitæ reciperet, Et tam principes seculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipsi pontificibus, tanquam Christi vicarijs, reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis siquidem frater noster Robertus London episcopus, tanquam vir sapiens Et honestus, Et religionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus est, Et pro collata à Deo prudentia propensius honorandus. Quia ergò, sicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ suæ salute, ac suæ ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur astringi non potest: volumus, Et ex paterno tibi affectu consulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem nostrum super hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri Et nostra reuerentia, eum in amorem Et gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præstare non possit, sufficiat discretioni tuæ, ut simplici Et veraci verbo promittat, quoddam læsionem tili vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. ca Iulij.

not to disquiet,

and not to require an oath from, but only a simple promise).

Thus we see, that kings were to rule no further than it pleased the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their subiects than stood all'so with their good will and pleasure. He wrote in like sort vnto queene Mawd about the same matter, making hir Samsons calfe² (the better to bring his purpose to passe) as appeareth by the same letter here insuing.

[p. 134]

Witness again
the Pope to
Queen Matilda,

Solomone attestante, didicimus quoddam mulier sapiens

² Calf, meaning a fool,—as witness Cotgrave's definition of '*Veau*, A Calfe or Veale; also, a lozell, hoydon, dunce, iobbernoll, doddipole,'—had diuers owners put before it, of whom Waltham seems to have been the best known. "Waltham's-calf. As wise as Waltham's calf, i. e. very foolish. Waltham's calf ran nine miles to suck a bull,"—*Halliwell's Glossary*.

ædificat domum; insipiens autem constructam destruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis studium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam sicut relligiosorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intendis, & personas ecclesiasticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inspirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatem tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem nostrum Robertum London episcopum, pro illius reuerentia, qui cum olim diues esset, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentius diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum, & dilectum filium nostrum, Stephanum, insignem regem Anglorum efficere studeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & consilio tuo, ipsum in benignitatem & dilectionem suam suscipiat, & pro beati Petri, & nostra reuerentia propensius habeat commendatum. Et quia sicut (veritate teste) attendimus eum sine salute, & sui ordinis periculo, præfato filio nostro astringi non posse; volumus, & paterno sibi & tibi affectu consulimus, vt vobis sufficiat, veraci & simplici verbo promissionem ab eo suscipere, quod læsionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ suæ non inferat. Dat. vt supra.

whom he exhorted

to imitate her husband King Stephen,

and require no oath of Robert, Bp of London, but only a simple promise.

Is it not strange, that a peeuisish order of religion (deuised by man) should breake the expresse law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome some part of the power of God is manifest and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Hostia also wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incoraging them to stand to their election of the said Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new bishoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it still, maugre his displeasure; & yet not to sweare obedience vnto him, for all that he should be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

Thus these peevisish Papists broke God's law!

And the Cardinal of Hostia also told the Canons of St Paul's to support Bp Robert:

witness his
letter,

*Forsitan natu-
ralem.*

recommending
Bp Robert to
thom,

and counselling
them to stand
by him.

Treasonous
Thomas of
Arundel also
gave King
Richard II.
much trouble in
1398.

[¹ Read
'Thomas': see
the Latin
below.]

Roger Walden
had his see (but
only for two
years).

Humilis Dei gratia Hostiensis episcopus, Londinensis ecclesiæ canonicis spiritum consilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorsus est abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iustè desyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quodd Londinensis ecclesia, diu proprio destituta pastore, communi voto, & pari assensu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium nostrum Robertum, eiusdem ecclesiæ archidiaconum, in pastorem & episcopum animarum suarum suscepit & elegerit. No- uimus quidem eum esse personam, quam sapientia de super ei attributa, & honestas conuersationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commendabilem reddidit. Inde est quodd fraternitati vestræ mandando consulimus, ut proposito vestro bono (quod ut credimus ex Deo est) & ut ex literis domini papæ cognoscetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis ecclesia, sub occasione huiusmodi, spiritualium, quod absit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipsius namque industria credimus, quodd antiqua relligio, & forma disciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in ecclesia vestra reparari: & si quæ fuerint ipsius contentiones, ex pastoris absentia, Dei gratia co- operante, & eodem præsentè, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.

Hereby you see how king Stephan was dealt with- all. And albeit the archbishop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, so far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no lesse vnquietnesse had another of our princes with John¹ of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and caused the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his souereigne about his restitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; *Thomas pro- ditionis non expers nostræ regiæ maiestati insidias fabri- cavit*, the pope vnderstood the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas should be depriued, and another archbishop chosen in his sted.

Neither did this pride staie at archbishops and bishops, but descended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlinesse. For beside the iniurie receiued of their superiors, how was K. John dealt withall by the vile Cistertians at Lincolne in the second of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iust occasion) conceived some grudge against them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon denial to paie such summes of moneie as were allotted vnto them, he had caused seizure to be made of such horses, swine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were maintained in his forrests. They denounced him as fast amongst themselues with bell, booke and candle, to be accurssed and excommunicated. Therevnto they so handled the matter with the pope and their friends, that the king was faine to yeeld to their good graces: infomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betweene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the present archbishop¹ of Canturburie, who went off betweene him and the Cistertian commissioners before the matter could be finished. In the end, the king himselfe came also vnto the said commissioners as they sat in their chapter house, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his trespasses against them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thencefoorth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promising moreouer full satisfaction of their damages susteined; and to build an house of their order in whatsoeuer place of England it should please them to assigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the seauen and twentieth of Nouember, after the Scottish king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene John Stratford and Edward the third, &c:) a man may easilie conceiue how proud the

The rakehells of the Popish clergy were proud too.

Witness how the Cistercians at Lincoln

excommunicated King John,

made him yield to them,

fall at the feet of the Pope's commissioners, crave pardon for his trespasses,

promise to pay damages, and build them a house.

John Stratford troubled Edward III. too.

¹ The Archbishop who was present there.—F.

So proud were
the clergy of old.

Though the
Archbp of Can-
terbury is above
him of York, yet

he of York is
call'd Primate
of England,

and crowns the
Queen.

[^a p. 135]
*Twentie one
bishops
vnder ye see of
Canturburie.
Onelie foure
sees vnder the
archbishop of
yorke.*

Deanes.

Canonries.

But our present
Canons, &c.,

cleargie-men haue beene in former times, as wholie presuming vpon the primassie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of these and the like broiles, not to be found among our common historiographers: howbeit referuing the same vnto places more conuenient, I will ceasse to speake of them at this time, and go forward with such other things as my purpose is to speake of. At the first therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbishops:] but as he ¹ of Canturburie hath long since obtained the prerogatiue aboute Yorke (although [I saie] not without great trouble, sute, some bloudshed & contention) so the archbishop of Yorke is neuerthelesse [written] primate of England, as one contenting himselfe with a peece [of a title] at the least, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, so this of Yorke dooth the like to the queene, whose perpetuall chapleine he is, & hath beene from time to time, [since the determination of this controuersie,] as ² writers doo report. The first also hath vnder his iurisdiction to ³ the number of one and twentie inferiour bishops, the other hath onlie foure, by reason that the churches of Scotland are now remooued from his obedience vnto an archbishop of their owne, whereby the greatnesse and circuit of the iurisdiction of Yorke is not a little diminished. In like sort, each of these seauen and twentie sees haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes [(a calling not knowne in England before the conquest)] doo beare the cheefe rule, being men especiallie chosen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlinesse, so neere as can be possible. These cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries still remaining vnto them, as heeretofore vnder the popish regiment. Howbeit those that are chosen to the same are no idle and vnprofitable persons (as in times past they haue beene when most of these

¹ The Archbishop

² as the

liuings were either furnished with strangers, especiallie out of Italie, [boies,] or such idiots as had leaft skill of all in difcharging of thofe functions, wherevnto they were called by vertue of thefe ftipends) but fuch as by preaching and teaching can and doo learnedlie fet forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of anti-chrift to the vttermoft of their powers.

preach well, and
help to over-
throw Anti-
christ.

[Thefe churches are called cathedrall, becaufe the bifhops dwell or lie neere vnto the fame, as bound to keepe continuall refidence within their iurifdictions, for the better ouerfight and gouernance of the fame: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to faie, a chaire or feat where he refteth, and for the moft part abideth. At the firft there was but one church in euerie iurifdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with fome oblation or other toward the maintenance of the paftor. For as it was reputed an infamie to paffe by anie of them without vifitation, fo it was a no leffe reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occafion alfo they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwife they were not capable of fuch multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the facraments.

Cathedrals are
fo calld from

cathedra, a feat
where the
Bifhop abides.

At firft, each
diocese had but
one church,

a huge one,

But as the number of chriftians increafed, fo firft monafteries, then finallie parifh churches, were builded in euerie iurifdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpreefts; the reft being added fince the conqueft, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue fome eafe by building them neere hand. Vnto thefe deanerie churches alfo the cleargie in old time of the fame deanrie were appointed to repaire at fundrie feafons, there to receiue wholefome ordinances, and to confult vpon the neceffarie affaires of the whole iurifdiction, if neceffitie fo required: and fome image hereof is yet to be feene in the

but soon monas-
teries and
parish churches
followd,
whence came
our Deanery or
Mother
Churches,

to which the
Clergy repaired
at sundry sea-
sons,

as they do still
in the North.
Cathedrals are
now, in their
lower parts, only
markets and
shops.

*Ordinarie
sermons.*

*Ordinarie ex-
positions of the
scriptures.*

*The bishops
preach dili-
gentlie, whose
predecessors
heretofore have
beene occupied
in temporall
affairs.*

But translations
of Bishops are
now wrongly
made.

With princes,
once done is
well done, and
to be done often.

north parts. But as the number of churches increased, so the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminish: whereby they now become, especiallie in their nether parts, rather markets and shops for merchandize, than solemn places of praier, wherevnto they were first erected.] Moreouer, in the said cathedrall churches vpon fundaises and festiuall daies, the canons doo make certeine ordinarie sermons by course, wherevnto great numbers of all estates doo orderlie resort: and vpon the working daies, thrife in the weeke, one of the said canons, [or some other in his steed,] dooth read and expound some peece of holie scripture, wherevnto the people doo verie reuerentlie repaire. The bishops themselves in like fort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and counsell, [which is one (and a no small) peece of their felicitie (although Richard archbishop of Canturburie thought otherwise, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander, *Epistola 44. Petri Blefensis*, where he saith; Bicause the cleargie of his time were somewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorsum ecclesiæ fabricant peccatores, &c.*)] they so applie their minds to the setting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which doo not euerie fundaise or oftener resort to some place or other, within their iurisdictiones, where they expound the scriptures with much grauitie and skill; [and yet not without the great misliking and contempt of such as hate the word. Of their manifold translations from one see to another I will saie nothing, which is not now doone for the benefit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time past much doubted of, to wit, whether a bishop or pastor might be translated from one see to another; & left vndecided, till prescription by roiall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once doone, is well doone, and to be doone oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.]

They haue vnder them also their archdeacons, *Archdeacons* some one, diuerse two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the bishops eies: and these (beside their ordinarie courts, which are holden [within so manie or more of their feuerall deanries] by themselves or their officials once in a moneth at the least) doo keepe yearelie two visitations or synods (as the bishop dooth in euerie third yeare, wherein [he confirmeth some children, though most care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which] they make diligent inquisition and search, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the ministers, as the orderlie dealing of the parishioners in resorting to their parish churches and conformitie vnto religion. They punish also with great seueritie all such trespassers, [either in person or by the purre (where permutation of penance is thought more greuous to the offender)] as are presented vnto them: or if the cause be of the more weight, as in cases of heresie, pertinacie, contempt, and such like, they referre them either to the bishop of the diocesse, or his chancellor, or else to fundrie graue persons set in authoritie, by vertue of an high commission directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner doo see the offenders gently reformed, or else seuerlie punished, if necessitie so inforce.

are in law The Bishops' Eyes.

They hold two Visitations a year. The Bishop one every third year, to confirm children, which is little car'd for

The Archdeacons punish trespassers.

High commissioners.

Beside this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exercise latelie begun, which for the most part is called a prophesie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their studie of holie scriptures. Howbeit, such is the thirstie desire of the people in these daies to heare the word of God, that they also haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themselves among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their preface at the same. Herein also (for the most

A prophesie or conference of Ministers, to

examine them in Scripture.

The zealous laity have got in to hear these.

Two young
ministers
expound the
Bible

for an hour ;
then a graduate

sums up and
comments on
their discourses
for another
hour.

The good are
praised,
[² p. 136]
and the slack
reprov'd.

The laity never
speak.

This is a notable
spur to min-
isters,
and keeps them
from the old
hunting, cards,
and tippling.

part) two of the yoonger sort of ministers doo expound, ech after other, some peece of the scriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courses (wherein they orderlie go through with some one of the euangelists, or of the epistles, as it pleaseth ¹ the whole assemblie ¹ to choose at the first in euerie of these conferences); and when they haue spent an houre or a little more betweene them, then commeth one of the better learned sort, who [being a graduat for the most part, or knowne to be a preacher sufficientlie authoris'd, & of a sound iudgement,] supplieth the roome of a moderator, making first a breefe rehearfall of their discourses, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie spent at this most profitable meeting. When all is doone, if the first speakers haue shewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in²couraged to go forward. If they haue beene found to be slacke, [or not found in deliuerie of their doctrine,] their negligence [and error] is openlie reprooued before all their brethren, who go aside of purpose from the laitie, after the exercise ended, to iudge of these matters, and consult of the next speakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer speake [of course (except some vaine and busie head will now and then intrude themselues with offense)] but are onelie hearers; and as it is vsed in some places weekelie, in other once in foureteene daies, in diuerse monethlie, and elsewhere twise in a yeare, so is it a notable spurre vnto all the ministers, thereby to applie their bookes, which otherwise (as in times past) would ³ giue themselues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouse, shooting [of matches,] and other like vanities, nothing commendable in such as should be godlie and zealous stewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull distributors of his

¹—¹ them

² did. See *Doctour Double Ale*, Hazlitt's *Pop. Poet.*, iii. 306.

word vnto the people, and diligent pastors according to their calling.

[But alas! as sathan, the author of all mischeefe, But, alas, the Devil has hath in sundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: so in this he hath stirred vp aduersaries of late vnto this most profitable exercise, who, not regarding the commoditie stirred up aduersaries that riseth thereby so well to the hearers as spekers; but either stumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the leaft wise not liking to here of the reprehension of vice, or peradventure taking a misliking at the slender demeanours of such negligent ministers, as now and then in their courses doo occupie the roomes: haue either by their owne practise, their finifter information, or suggestions made vpon surmises vnto other, procured the suppression of these conferences, who have got these conferences suppressed. condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and dailie breeders of no small hurt & inconuenience.¹ But

¹ Writing on March 25, 1574, to one Matchet, his chaplain, parson of Thurgarton, in the diocese of Norwich, Archbishop Parker requested him to repair to his ordinary, and to show him how the Queen willed the Archbishop to suppress those *vain prophesyings*, and requir'd the ordinary, in her Majesty's name, to stop them. This not being acceptable to the Bishop of Norwich, an altercation between the Archbishop and the Bishop ensu'd. But eventually the prophesyings were stopt, —the following order being sent by the Bishop of Norwich to his Chancellor on the 7th of June, 1574:—"After my hearty commendations: whereas by the receipt of my Lord of Canterbury's letter, I am commanded by him, in the Queen her Majesty's name, that the prophesyings throughout my diocese should be suppressed; these are therefore to will you, that, as conveniently as you may, you give notice to every of my Commissaries, that they, in their several circuits, may suppress the same. And so I leave you to God."—*Strype's Life of Abp. Parker*, vol. ii. p. 362. See more about them in these references to Strype's Works, from the Index:—

"*Prophesyings*, certain exercises expounding the Scriptures, so called, P. II. 358, A. II. i. 133; orders respecting their use in the church of Northampton, 136, G. 260; this exercise set up at Bury, A. II. i. 325; Bishop Parkhurst's letter of permission, ii. 494; generally used by the clergy, i. 472; Bishop Cooper's regulations and allowance for them in Herefordshire, *ib.* 476; Bishop Parkhurst stops them in the diocese of Norwich, 477—480, P. II. 358—362; some privy counsellors write to him in their favour, *ib.*; he communicates with Archbishop Parker and some bishops upon the matter, *ib.*; they are suppressed, *ib.*; the contentions of the ministers, the occasion thereof, *ib.*; directions for this exercise in the diocese of Chester, A. II. i. 481, ii. 544; III. i. 476; the permission of Bishop Chaderton, II. ii. 546; III. i. 477; Bishop Cox's opinion of them, II. ii. 13; the Queen's letter to the Bishop of

hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cause belongeth.]

Ministers & deacons

are consecrated,

and from them

the hierarchy are elected.

On promotion they pay one year's

income to the King as First-fruits,

Faculties.
enabling men to hold two livings not over 30 miles apart.

Our elders or minifters and deacons (for fubdeacons and the other inferiour orders, sometime vfed in ¹ popifh church we haue not,) are made according to a certeine forme of confecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the fixt, by the cleargie of England, and foone after confirmed by the three eftates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the firft fort, that is to faie, of fuch as are called to the minifterie [(without refpect whether they be married or not)] are bifhops, deanes, archdeacons, & fuch as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and thefe alfo, as all the reft, at the firft comming vnto anie fpirituell promotion, doo yeeld vnto the prince the entire taxe of [that] their liuing ² for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name [and title] of firft fruits.³

⁴ [With vs alfo it is permitted, that a fufficient man may (by difpenfation from the prince⁵) hold two liuing, not diftant either from other aboute thirtie miles;

Lincoln to ftop them in his diocefe, 114, 612; Abufes of thefe exercifes, G. 326; Archbishop Grindal's orders for their reformation, 327; the Queen orders the Archbishop to put a ftop to them, 328; his expoftulations with her on the fubject, 329, 558; the Queen's letter for their fuppreffion, 574, W. I. 163."—*Index to Strype's Works*, vol. ii., p. 208 (1828 edit.).

There are frequent allufions to the *Prophesyings* "in the Bifhops' Injunctions and Questions, the whole of which are printed in the Appendix to the *2nd Report of the Ritual Commiffion*. See page 432, par. 25; p. 435, par. 20; p. 445, par. 26; p. 447, par. 18."—F. ¹ in the ² liuing

³ John Parkhurft, Bifhop of Norwich, writing to his friend Henry Bullinger, on April 28, 1562, fays:—"And that you might not think I had forgotten you (fince I was unable to write through illnefs), I fent you a fmall prefent. *Whenever I fhall have paid my firft fruits*, and extricated myfelf from debt, you fhall know who and what kind of a man is your friend Parkhurft."—Parker Society's *Zürich Letters*, i. 107.—F. ⁴ This addition ends on p. 22.—F.

⁵ The act of Henry VIII. for reftaining pluralities contains a clause making employment at court an excufe for non-refidence and pluralities; fee Tyndale's *Expositions*, &c., 256, 336. Bradford contends that they are hurtful to the Church, *Writings*, ii. 395; fo does Jewel, ii. 984; Whitgift defends them, i. 528, &c. See alfo Bullinger's *Decades*, iv. 144; Hutchinson's *Works*, 5; Latimer's *Works*, i. 122; Whitgift's *Works*, i. 506, &c., Parker Society (Index).—F.

[whereby it commeth to passe, that as hir maiestie dooth reape some commoditie by the facultie, so the vnition of two in one man dooth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclaime against such faculties,¹ as if there were mo good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to mainteine them. In deed, when a liuing is void, there are so manie futors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true, and most certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are sufficient, and who not, who are staied men in conuersation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you shall hardlie find one or two, such as they ought to be: and yet none more earnest to make sute, to promise largelie, beare a better shew, or find fault with the state of things, than they. Neuerthelesse, I doo not thinke that their exclamations, if they were wilelie handled, are altogether grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you respect the state of the thing it selfe, and not the necessitie growing through want of able men, to furnish out all the cures in England, which both our vniuersities are neuer able to performe. For if you obserue what numbers of preachers Cambridge² and

Many object to this pluralism,

but there are so few really good Ministers,

we so want able men,

of whom Cambridge and Oxford can't supply enough,

¹ See W. Stafford's argument against pluralities in his *Compendious Examination*, 1581, fol. 53. "What reason is it that one man should haue two mens liuings and two mens charge, when he is able to discharge but one? Then, to haue more, and discharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynst reason. But some percase will say, 'there be some of vs worthy a greater preferment then others, and one benefice were to litle for such a one.' Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forsooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to XX. markes a yeare of sundry value to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal," &c. &c.—F.

² "It would pytye a mans hert to heare that that I heare of the state of Cambridge: what it is in Oxforde I can not tell. Ther be few do study diuinitie, but so many as of necessiti must furnish the Colledges. For their lyuynges be so small, and vytaylee so dere, that they tarry not ther, but go other where to seke lyuynges,

that it'd be a
benefit to put
four or five little
churches into
one.

One small living
won't keep a
mean scholar
even, being only
from £10 to £30
a year.

The clergy are
now, too, more
taxt than ever.

[First frutes
and] Tenth
we pay yearly
to the Queen.

[Oxford doo yearelie fend foorth; and how manie new compositions are made in the court of first fruits, by the deaths of the last incumbents: you shall soone see a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it selfe, foure or fve of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redressed and amended.

And to saie truth, one most commonlie of these small livings is of so little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane scholar, much lesse a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, sixteene, seuentee, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the most, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) doo go out of the same. I saie more than before, bicause euerie small trifle, noble mans request, or courtesie craued by the bishop, dooth impose and command a twentieth part, a three score part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our livings, which hitherto hath not bene vfuallie granted, but by consent of a synod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the poorer fort considered of, which now are equalie burdened.]

¹ We paie also the tenths of our livings to the prince yearelie, according to such valuation of ech of them, as hath bene latelie made: ¹ [which ² neuerthelesse in time past were not annuall, but voluntarie, & paid at request of king or pope. Herevpon also hangeth a pleafant storie though doone of late yeares, to wit 1452, and so they go aboute. Nowe there be a fewe gentylmen, and they studye a little diuinitie. . . . There be none nowe but greates mens sonnes in Colledges, and theyr fathers loke not to haue them preachers, so euerie waye thys offyce of preachynge is pyncht at."—*Latimer's 5th Sermon before Edward IV.*, A.D. 1549, p. 140, ed. Arber.

The scarcity of preachers in the time of Queen Elizabeth is lamented by Jewel in his *Works*, ii. 999, 1000, and by Archbp. Sandys, *Works*, p. 154 (Parker Soc.). He also complains of the ignorance of ministers in Elizabeth's time, *Works*, ii. 1012 (Parker Soc.).—F.

¹—¹ They paye the tenthes yearely also of theyr sayde liuynges accordyng to such valuations as have bene made latelie of the same.

² This addition ends on p. 24.—F.

[at which time the cleargie, seeing the continuall losses that the king of England sustained in France, vpon some motion of releefe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankfullie receiued. It fortuned also at the same time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had doone, came into the conuocation house also in great hast and lesse speed, where, in a solemne oration he earnestlie required them to be no lesse fauourable to their spirituall father the pope, and mother the see of Rome, than they had shewed themselues vnto his vassall and inferiour, meaning their souereigne lord in temporall iurisdiction, &c. In deliuering also the cause of his sute, he shewed how grieuoullie the pope was disturbed by cutthrotes, varlets, and harlots, which doo now so abound in Rome, that his holinesse is in dailie danger to be made awaie amongst them. To be short, when this fine tale was told, one of the companie stood vp and said vnto him : "My lord, we haue heard your request; and, as we thinke, it deserueth litle consideration and lesse eare; for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in suppression of such as he and such as you are, doo continuall vphold: it is not vnknownen in this house what rule is kept in Rome."

"I grant" (quoth Vincent) "that there wanteth iust reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue becme made sooner, but now it is too late: neuerthelesse I beseech you to write vnto his holinesse, with request that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a sinke of mischiefe, and keepe his court elsewhere in place of better fame. And this he shall be the better able also to performe, if by your liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whom you are most bound, he be encouraged thereto." Manie other words passed to and fro amongst them, howbeit in the

In 1452 the clergy voted King two tenths to recover Bordeaux.
The Pope's Factor

urg'd them to give the same to the Pope,

as he was disturbed by cutthrotes and harlots in Rome.

An Englishman said,
'We can't pay to suppress the harlots that you Romish clergy support in Rome.'

'True,' said the Factor;

'but do you ask the Pope to leave Rome, that sink of iniquity, and give him your

[1 p. 137]
money to enable him to do it.'

But the English
clergy wouldn't.
Besides our
tenths,

we pay
firstfruits,

for both which a
special Court
of Firstfruits
and Tenths has
been set up,

and if a parson
doesn't pay up,
he incurs a
great penalty.

We clergy pay
[Subsidies] too,
more than the
laity.

Out of £20 a
year,

we hardly get
£13 6s. 8d.

We can't get
relief from
taxation, on
account of
poverty, like
the laity can.

¹ which

[end Vincent overcame not, but was dismissed without anie penie obtained. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement first as deuised by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the prescription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine also our first fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the same, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares.] For the receipt [also] of these ¹ two paiments, an especiall office or court is erected, which beareth name of first fruits and tenths, wherevnto, if the partie to be preferred, doo not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after possession taken, there to compound for the paiment of his [said] fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine statute provided in that behalfe, against such as doo intrude into the ecclesiasticall function, [and refuse to paie the accustomed duties belonging to the same.]

They paie likewise subsidies with the temporaltie, but in such sort, that if these paie after foure shillings for land, the cleargie contribute ² commonlie after six shillings of the pound, so that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himselfe well acquitted, if, all ³ ordinarie paiments ³ being discharged, he may referue ⁴ thirteene pounds six shillings eight pence ⁴ towards his owne sustentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome also are they without the compasse of a subsidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, [a thing not often seene of late yeeres,] they are like in the next to heare of another grant: so that I saie againe they are seldome without the limit of a subsidie. [Herein also they somewhat find themselues grieved, that] the laitie may at euerie taxation ⁵ helpe themselues, and so they doo through confideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impouerishment cannot but touch also the

paye ³⁻³ things ⁴⁻⁴ fiftene pounce ⁵ taxation also

parson or vicar, [vnto whom such libertie is denied,] as is dailie to be seene in their accompts and tithings.

[Some of them also, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by freendship get themselues quite out of the booke. But what stand I vpon these things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by some of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie indeuor to bring vs also within the compasse of their fifteens or taxes for their owne ease, whereas the tax of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland soile, amounteth onelie to 37930 pounds nine pence halfe penie, is a burden easie enough to be borne vpon so manie shoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whose tenths and subsidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troublesome vnto their aforesaid payments. Sometimes also we are threatned with a *Meliùs inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high enough already. But if a man should seeke out where all those church lands, which in time past did contribute vnto the old summe required or to be made vp, no doubt no small number of the laitie of all states should be contributors also with vs, the prince not defrauded of hir expectation and right. We are also charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull, than diuerse other charges imposed vpon vs are conuenient; by which & other burdens our ease groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithstanding our immunitie from temporall seruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I see, not likelie to be diminished, as if the church were now become the asse whereon euerie market man is to ride and cast his wallet.]

The other payments due vnto the archbishop and bishop at their feuerall visitations (of which the first is double to the latter) and such also as the archdeacon

The laity too
try to make us
clergy pay
part of their
Fifteens or
Taxes,

tho' our Tenths
and Subsidies
are twice as
heavy as their
Taxes.

Where are the
old Church
lands gone to?
Let the laity
pay for them.

We're charg'd
with Armour
and Munitions
too!

The Church is
now the asse
for every man
to ride on!

We pay for
Visitations too

and double
Inquisition fees
to the Prince.
Thus we pay
for Prince and
Laity too,

and they both
grumble at
us and slander
us.

Some greedy
patrons even
give advowsons
to their cooks,
falconers, and
housekeepers,

receiueth at his synods, &c: remaine still as they did without anie alteration; onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers doo commonlie visit the whole realme vnder the forme of an ecclesiasticall inquisition, in which the clergie doo [vsuallie] paie double fees, as vnto the archbishop. Hereby then, and by those alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England is no lesse commodious to the princes coffers than the [state of the] laitie, if it doo not farre exceed the same, since their payments are certeine, continuall, and feldome abated, howsoeuer they gather vp their owne duties [with grudging, murmuring, sute, and slanderous speeches of the paiers,] or haue their liuings otherwise hardlie valued vnto the vttermoſt farding, or shrewddie cancelled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones,¹ of whome some doo beſtow aduowſons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, [good archers, falconers,] and horſſe-keepers,² in ſted of other recompenſe, for their long

¹ (Long side-note here in edition of 1577, as follows): The very cause why weauers pedlers & glouers haue been made Ministers, for the learned refuse such matches, so that yf the Bishops in times past hadde not made such by oversight friendship I wote not howe such men should haue done wyth their aduowſons, as for a glouer or a tayler will be glad of an augmentation of 8 or 10 pound by the yere, and well contented that his patrone shall haue all the rest, so he may be sure of this pension.

² "But what do you patrones? Sell your benefices, or give them to your servants for their service, for keeping of hounds or hawks, for making of your gardena. These patrones regard no souls, neither their own nor other men's. What care they for souls, so they haue money, though they [souls] perish, though they go to the devil?"—Latimer's Sermon at Stamford, 9 Nov. 1550, *Works*, i. 290.

On the general character of the ministers of England, see the Parker Society's *Zürich Letters*, ii. 63. Harding calls them tinkers, tapsters, fiddlers and pipers, Jewel's *Works*, iv. 873, 209; Jewel admits their want of learning, *ib.* 910; many of them were made of "the baseſt ſort of the people," Whitgift's *Works*, i. 316; artificers and unlearned men were admitted to the ministry, Archbp. Parker's *Correspondence*, p. 120; many had come out of the ſhop into the clergy, Fulke's *Works*, ii. 118; an order was given to ordain no more artificers, Archbp. Grindal's *Remains*, p. 241, note; ſome beneficed miniſters were neither prieſts nor deacons, Archbp. Parker's *Corr.*, pp. 128, 154, 308; laymen were preſented to benefices, and made prebendaries, *ib.* 311, 312, and an Archdeacon was not in orders, *ib.* 142, note.—*Parker Society's Index*, p. 537.—F.

and faithfull seruice, which they imploie [afterward] vnto their most aduantage.¹

[Certes here they refemble the pope verie much, for as he sendeth out his idols, so doo they their parasites, pages, chamberleins, stewards, groomes, & lackies; and yet these be the men that first exclaime of the insufficiencie of the ministers, as hoping thereby in due time to get also their glebes and grounds into their hands.²

In times past, bishopriks went almost after the same maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, so that he which helped a clerke vnto a fee, was sure to haue a present or purse fine, if not an annuall pension, besides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize.

Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing doone in my younger daies, whilest queene Marie bare the swaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the see of Wincheſter was void for a season, during which time cardinall Poole made seizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the same, pretending authoritie therevnto *Sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his, the bishop of Lin-

and yet cry
out about the
incompetency
of Ministers!

Of old, Bishops
paid their
patrons for
their sees.

Take an
example in
Queen Mary's
days:

after Gardiner's
death, Cardinall
Poole seized his
vacant see of
Wincheſter.

To stop him, the

¹ "I will not speak now of them that, being not content with their lands and rents, do catch into their hands spiritual livings, as parsonages and such like; and that under the pretence to make provision for their houses. What hurt and damage this realm of England doth sustain by that devilish kind of provision for gentlemen's houses, knights' and lords' houses, they can tell best that do travel in the countries, and see with their eyes great parishes and market towns, with innumerable others, to be utterly destitute of God's word; and that, because that these greedy men have spoiled the livings, and gotten them into their hands; and instead of a faithful and painful preacher, they hire a Sir John, which hath better skill in playing at tables, or in keeping of a garden, than in God's word; and he for a trifle doth serve the cure, and so help to bring the people of God in danger of their souls. And all those serve to accomplish the abominable pride of such gentlemen, which consume the goods of the poor (the which ought to have been bestowed upon a learned minister) in costly apparel, belly-cheer, or in building of gorgeous houses." 1562. A. Bernher's *Dedication to Latimer's Sermons on the Lord's Prayer of A.D. 1552. Latimer's Works*, i. 317 (Parker Soc.).—F.

² On the neglect of their duties by the Elizabethan clergy, and shifting the consequences of it on to the laity, see the Doctor's speech, on leaves 51—53 of Wm Stafford's *Compendious Examination*, 1581 A.D.—F.

Bishop of
Lincoln askt
the Pope for
the see,

and promist
him £1000 a
year for it.

The Pope,
counting more,
rebukt the
Bishop for his
simony,

frightend him,

got more money
out of him,

and then
procured him
the see.

I could tell
many more
like cases.

[¹ p. 138]

Our old names,
parson, vicar,
&c., are still
us'd,

the Canon Law
is still pleaded,

colne (called White) tooke such displeasure, that he stepped in like a mate, with full purpose (as he said) to keepe that see from ruine. He wrote also to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promising so as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeere after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet desirous to reape a further benefit, first shewed himselfe to stomach his simoniacall practise verie grieuously, considering the dangeroufnesse of the time and present estate of the church of England, which hoong as yet in balance readie to yeeld anie waie, sauing fourth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he so terrified the poore bishop, that he was driuen vnto another issue, I meane, to recouer the popes good will, with a further summe than stood with his ease to part withall. In the end, when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuise was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be bishop of Winchester, which at the last he obtained, but in such wise as that the pope and his neereft friends did lose but a little by it. I could, if need were, set downe a report of diuerse other the like practises, but this shall suffice in steed of all the rest, least in reprehending of vice I might shew my selfe to be a teacher of vngodlinesse, or to scatter more vngracious seed in lewd ground ¹alreadie choked with wickednesse.]

² To proceed therefore with the rest, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names ² vsuallie giuen vnto such as feed the flocke, remaine in like fort as in times past, so that these words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet ³ abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large scope, and brought the

²—³ But to proceede with our purpose. The names moreover ³ as yet

exercife of the fame into fome narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonically scriptures, whereby it commeth to paffe that the pſalter is ſaid ouer once in thirtie daies, the new teſtament foure times, and the old teſtament once in the yeare. And herevnto if the curat be adiudged by the biſhop or his deputies, ſufficientlie inſtructed in the holic ſcriptures, [and therewithall able to teach,] he permitteth him to make ſome expoſition or exhortation in his pariſh, vnto amendment of life. And for ſo¹ much as our churches and vniuerſities haue bene ſpoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had ſuch number of able² paſtours as may ſuffice for euerie pariſh to haue one³: there are [(beſide foure ſermons appointed by publike order in the yeare)] certeine ſermons or homilies (deuiſed by fundrie learned men, confirmed for ſound doctrine by conſent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and thoſe appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderſtanding (which homilies doo comprehend the principall parts of chriſtian doctrine, as of originall Sinne, of iuſtification by faith, of charitie, and ſuch like) vpon the ſabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. ⁴ And after a certeine number of pſalmes read, which are limited according to the dates of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two leſſons, wherof the firſt is taken out of the old teſtament, the ſecond out of the new; and of theſe latter, that in the morning is out of the goſpels, the other in the after-noon, out of ſome one of the epiſtles. After morning praier alſo we haue the letanie and ſuffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deuiſed without the great aſſiſtance of the ſpirit of God, although manie curious mindſicke perſons vtterlie con-

we read the
Pſalter once a
month,
the New Teſta-
ment 4 times
a year, and the
Old once.
Curates, if able,
are allowed to
preach.

The Homilies
are read in
church on

Sabbath-days;
[⁴ for other⁴ ſee
next page.]

ſo are the
Pſalms,

two Leſſons,

and after
Morning
Prayer, the
Litany and
Suffrages.

¹ for as

² learned

³ See note, p. 21 above.—F.

⁴—⁴ Likewise in our common prayer, the leſſons are onely certeine appointed chapters, taken out of the olde & newe Teſtament. The adminiſtration moreouer of the ſacraments and residue of the ſervice is done in the churches wholly

demne it as superstitious, and fauoring of coniuration and forcerie.

Then we haue the Communion: or if no people come to it, we read the Decalogue, &c.: then a Homily:

lastly, Baptisma,

For Afternoon Service we haue Psalmes, Lessons, and a Sermon or Catechising.

[* for first see last page.]

All is in the vulgar tongue, tho' in Cathedrals, &c., the psalms are sung,

and also the answers in the Communion.

The translation of the Services alway offended the Pope,

though some Princes would haue it.

This being doone, we proceed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the eucharist; if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell, with the Nicene creed (of some in derision called the drie communion,) and then proceed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie fabaoth daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone bestowed. In the after noone likewise we meet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended, we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the leastwise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus doo we spend the fabaoth daie in good and godlie exercises, all doone * in our vulgar toong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are soong by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, sauing that in the adminiftration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the creed, and fundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skilfull in that science.

[Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar toong, hath not a litle offended the pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obtained, for feare least the consenting therunto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie; neuerthelessse, in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was

performed maugre his resistance. Wratilaus duke of Bohemia, would long since haue doone the like also in his kingdome ; but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer inhihitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same :—

Wratilaus of Bohemia

askt the Pope's consent to it,

Gregorius septimus, Vratislao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quodd secundum Sclauonicam linguam apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquàm posse fauere, ex hoc nempe se voluentibus liquet, non immeritò sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam ; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, fortè vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut prauè intellecta à mediocritus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuuat, quodd quidam viri hoc, quod simplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt : cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quæ à sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correctæ sunt : vnde id nè fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter exposcitur, auctoritate beati Petri inhihemus ; tēque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis resistere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c.

but the Pope refused,

and forbade its being done.

I would set downe two or three more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifully.]

As for our churches themselues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine¹ as in times past, sauing that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rood-lofts, and monuments of idolatrie are remooued, taken downe, and defaced ; onelie the stories in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stufte, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by² the alteration of the same into white

Our churches remain as of old ; but idolatrous images, &c., are removed,

except the stories in the glasse windows, which would cost too much to change.

¹ they remaine

² throwe

The choir is not cut off from the body of the church,

where the Minister says his service in a little tabernacle,

and the people pray with him.

Holy and Festival-Days have been reduc'd from 125 to 91 (that is, from 43, with 52 Sundays and 30 eves, to 27, with 52 Sundays and 12 eves);

and all wakes and gilds have been stopt,

as well as rioting at bride-ales.

We might as well get rid of Apostles' and the Virgin Mary's days, &c. too.

[? p. 139]
[Apparell.]
Ours is more decent than the Popish clergy's.

panes throughout the realme, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be provided and set vp in their roomes. Finallie, whereas there was woont to be a great partition betweene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogether needlesse, sith the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot provided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant doo not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, doo praie together with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant¹ powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and seruient manner. [Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fiteene, called festiuall, and thirtie *Profesti*, beside the fundaises, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathnisch rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saincts, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christ-masse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest, vtterlie remooued from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

²The apparell in like sort of our clergie men is comelie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popish church: before the vniuersities bound their graduats vnto a stable attire, afterward vsurped also

¹ instant doe

euen by the blind fir Johns. For if you peruse well my chronologie insuing, you shall find, that they went either in diuerse colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with their shooes piked, their haire crisped, their girdles armed with filuer; their shooes, spurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the most part) of filke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and butned with gold: so that to meet a priest in those daies, was to behold a peacocke that spreadeth his taile when he danseth before the henne¹: which now (I saie) is well reformed. Touching hospitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vsed in England, fith by reason that mariage is permitted to him that will choose that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dressed; their furniture of houghhold more conuenient and better looked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue beene, when onlie a few bishops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Christmasse onelie, or otherwise kept great houses for the intertainment of the rich, which did often see and visit them. It is thought much peradventure, that some bishops, &c: in our time doo come short of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predeceffors: but to such as doo consider of the curtailing of their liuings, or excessiue prices whervnto things are growen, and how their course is limited by law, and estate looked into on euery side, the cause of their so dooing is well inough perceiued. This also offendeth manie, that they should, after their deaths, leaue their substances to their wiues and children: wheras they consider not, that in old time such as had no lemans nor bastards² (verie few were there God wot of this sort) did leaue their goods and possessions to

They drest in parti-colours like players, or in red, green, &c. with silver ornaments,

silks and fur.

A priest was like a peacock dancing before a hen.

[Hospitalitie.]

The marriage of our clergy has increast this,

and the poor are now oftener fed.

Some of our Bishops are not so hospitable as Popish ones, because their income is cut down.

If they leave property to their wives,

so did Popish Priests to their lemans and bastards,

¹ See Chaucer's description of his Monk, Prol. to *Cant. Tales*, l. 165-207; and my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i. p. 193-4.—F.

² See *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i. p. 59-78.—F.

or their kins-
folk.

Instead of
founding Col-
leges,
we do good at
our homes.

[*Marriage.*]

If some of our
widows marry
again badly,

so do some
duchesses.

Eve will be Eve,
though Adam
say Nay.
[*Thred-bare
gownes, from
whence they
come.*]

Why, from
Patrons grind-
ing us:

getting Hawks'
meat out of us,
as they call it.

Patrons scrape
the wool from
the cloaks of us
parsons.

May they get
better,
or may good
Bishops bestow
the livings on
the deserving!

their brethren and kinffolks, whereby (as I can shew by good record) manie houfes of gentilitie haue growen and beene erected. If in anie age some one of them did found a college, almeshouse, or schoole, if you looke vnto these our times, you shall see no fewer deeds of charitie doone, nor better grounded vpon the right stub of pietie than before. If you saie that their wiues be fond, after the deceasse of their husbands, and bestow themselues not so aduisedlie as their calling requireth, (which, God knoweth, these curious surueiors make small accompt of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehension :) I beseech you then to looke into all states of the laitie, & tell me whether some duchesses, countesses, barons, or knights wiues, doo not fullie so often offend in the like as they? for Eue will be Eue, though Adam would saie naie. Not a few also find fault with our thred-bare gownes, as if not our patrones but our wiues were causes of our wo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue beene performed of late in Essex,—where a minister taking a benefice (of lesse than twentie pounds in the Queenes bookes so farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and sixteene yeerelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another lett the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yeere, which is well woorth fortie at the least,—the cause of our thred-bare gownes would easilie appeere; for such patrons doo scrape the wooll from our clokes. Wherefore I may well saie, that such a thred-bare minister is either an ill man or hath an ill patrone, or both; and when such cookes & cobling shifters¹ shall be remooued and weeded out of the ministerie, I doubt not but our patrons will proue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or else the single minded bishops shall see the liuing bestowed vpon such as doo deserue it.

¹ See note 2, p. 26, above.—F.

When the Pragmatike sanction tooke place first in France, it was supposed that these enormities should vtterlie haue ceased: but when the elections of bishops came once into the hands of the canons and spirituall men, it grew to be farre worfe. For they also within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raised the markets, and sought after new gaines by the gifts of the greatest liuings in that countrie, wherein (as *Machiauell* writeth) are eightene archbishoprikes, one hundred fortie and fixe bishoprikes, 740 abbies, eleuen vniuersities, 1000700 steeples (if his report be found.) Some are of the opinion, that if sufficient men in euerie towne might be sent for from the vniuersities, this mischiefe would soone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I consider wherevnto the gifts of fellowships in some places are growen; the profit that ariseth at sundrie elections of scholars out of grammar schooles, to the posers, schoolemasters, and preferrers of them to our vniuersities; the gifts of a great number of almeshouses builded for the maimed and impotent souldiors, by princes and good men heretofore moued with a pittifull consideration of the poore distressed; how rewards, pensions, and annuities also doo reigne in other cases, whereby the giuer is brought somtimes into extreame miserie, & that not so much as the roome of a common souldior is not obtained oftentimes, without a *What will you giue me?*; I am brought into such a mistrust of the sequele of this deuise, that I dare pronounce (almost for certeine) that if *Homer* were now aliue, it should be said to him:

*Túque licet venias musts comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris, itis Homere foras!*

More I could saie, and more I would saie, of these and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue said inough already for the aduertisement of such as be wise. Neuerthelesse, before I finish this

The French found they couldn't trust Canons, &c.

[Number of churches in France.]

Asking for men from the Universities would not cure the evil.

There's [Pretty packing.] there!

Big thieves

robbing the poor;

givers of pensions even refused help;

'What'll you give?' always askt.

If Homer came now empty-handed, they'd send him packing. I could say more; but withhold.

Now I'll add a
few words on
the

chapter, I will adde a word or two (so brieflie as I can) of the old estate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collect-
ed together here and there among the writers, and where-
by it shall easilie be seene what they were, and how neere
the gouernment of ours doo in these daies approach vnto
them; for that there is an irreconcilable ods betweene
them and those of the papists, I hope there is no learned
man indeed, but will acknowlege and yeeld vnto it.

[*Old estate of
cathedrall
churches.*]
Each see had
one school,

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue
church, that there was in euerie see or iurisdiction one
schoole at the least, whereinto such as were catechistes
in christian religion did resort. And hereof as we may
find great testimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome,
and Hierusalem; so no small notice is left of the like in
the inferior sort, if the names of such as taught in them
be called to mind, & the histories well read which
make report of the same. These schooles were vnder
the iurisdiction of the bishops, and from thence did
they & the rest of the elders choose out such as were the
ripest scholars, and willing to serue in the ministerie,
whome they placed also in their cathedrall churches,
there not onelie to be further instructed in the know-
ledge of the word, but also to invre them to the
deliuerie of the same vnto the people in sound maner,
to minister the sacraments, to visit the sicke and
brethren imprisoned, and to performe such other duties
as then belonged to their charges. The bishop him-
selfe and elders of the church were also hearers and
examiners of their doctrine, and being in proesse of
time found meet workmen for the lords haruest, they
were forthwith sent abroad (after imposition of hands,
and praier generallie ¹ made for their good proceeding)
to some place or other then destitute of hir pastor, and
other taken from the schoole also placed in their
roomes. What number of such clerks belonged now
and then to some one see, the chronologie following
shall easilie declare: and in like sort, what officers,

under its
Bishop,

and the best
scholars were
put into the
Cathedrals

to be traind.

After examina-
tion

and consecra-
tion they were
sent out to
work.
[¹ p. 140]

widowes, and other persons were daile maintained in those seasons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the same with the decayes and ablations seene and practised at this present. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the estate of the cathedrall churches in those times, so I wish that the like order of gouernment might once againe be restored vnto the same, which may be doone with ease, sith the schooles are alreadye builded in euerie diocesse, the vniuersities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great enough to receiue so manie as shall come from thence to be instructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadye and more & more to be looked for (beside the plucking and snatching commonlie seene from such houses and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the ministerie, and small consideration of their former paines taken, whereby lesse and lesse hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to insue. Wherefore the greatest part of the more excellent wits choose rather to imploy their studies vnto physike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the studie of the scriptures, for feare least they should in time not get their bread by the same. By this meanes also the stalles in their queeres would be better filled, which now (for the most part) are emptie, and prebends should be prebends indeed, there to liue till they were preferred to some ecclesiasticall function, and then other men chosen to succeed them in their roomes, whereas now prebends are but superfluous additaments vnto former excesses, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue said before.) But as I haue good leisure to wish for these things: so it shall be a longer time before it will be brought to passe. Neuerthelesse,

Many widowes, &c. were then kept by the offerings of the faithful, but now few are.

Avarice reigns.

I wish the old Cathedral-system were restored!

Schools, Universities, and Cathedrals are ready;

but plunder of,

and contempt for, the Ministry, prevent a competence being got in it: and so our best wits take to Physic and Law

Most of our Stalls are empty Prebends are not prebends,

but useless additions to prior preferments.

I pray for re-
form of this,
and end.

as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, so will I here conclude this my discourse of the estate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our seuerall fees, in such order as they shall come vnto my present remembrance.]

¹ [Of the number of bishoprikes and
their seuerall circuits.

Chap. 2.] ¹

I'll now treat
of the seuerall
sees, and first of

² **H**Auing alreadie spoken generally of the state of our church, now will I touch the fees seuerallie, saing so much of ech of them as shall be conuenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but also the later writers, and somewhat of mine owne experience, beginning first with the see of Canturburie, as the most notable, whose archbishop is the primat of all this land for ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, and most accompted of commonlie, bicause he is neerer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.²

Canturburie.

Though its pro-
vince is all
South and West
England and
Ireland,

The iurisdiction of Canturburie [therefore,] erected first by Augustine the moonke, [in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent,] if you haue respect to hir³ prouinciall regiment, extendeth it selfe ouer all the south [and west] part[s] of this Iland [and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent; and few shires there are wherein the archbishop hath not some peculiars].

^{1—1} In 1577 ed. this chapter is run into the preceding one, or 5th of the 2nd Book. There is not much of Harrison's own self in this chapter, except about the collops (p. 61) and the Pope's best bellows (p. 63). I don't find it of much interest.—F.

^{2—3} Thus much briefly of the estate of the church of England, I meane touching the regiment of the same, y^e seruice of God, & forme of common Prayer: now will I returne to the particular limites of eache seuerall Bishoprjck whereby we shall see theyr boundes and how farre theyr iurisdiccions doe extende, beginning first with the Sie of Cantorbury in such brieve order as foloweth here at hand. ³ his

But if you regard the same onelie that ¹was and is proper ¹vnto his see [from the beginning], it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent [which *Rudburne* calleth Cantwarland], the iurisdiction ² of Rochester including ³ the rest : so that in this one countie the greatest archbishoprike and ⁴ the least bishoprike of all are linked ⁵ [in] together. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, ⁶ who hath iurisdiction ⁷ ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred sixtie ⁸ one parish churches ; & in the popish time [in sted of the 3093 pounds, eightene shillings, halfe penie, farthing, which it now paieith unto hir maiestie, vnder the name of first frutes,] there went out of this see to Rome, at euerie alienation ⁹ 10000 ducates or florens, ¹⁰ beside 5000 that the new elect [did] vsuallie paie ¹¹ for his pall, [each ducat being then worth an English crowne or thereabout, as I haue beene informed.] ¹²

yet its proper
see is only
part of Kent
(Cantwarland).

It has one Arch-
deaconry.

It pays the
Queen
£3093 18s. 3d.

The see of Rochester is also included within the limits of Kent [being erected by Augustine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolric ouer the west-Saxons. The bishop of this see hath one archdeacon, vnder whose gouernment in causes ecclesiasticall are three deanries, or] ¹³ 132 parish churches : so that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are ¹⁴ 393 parish churches in Kent, ouer which ¹⁵ the said ¹⁵ two archdeacons ¹⁶ haue especiall cure & charge. ¹⁶ ¹⁷ He was woont to paie also vnto the court of Rome at his admission to that see ¹⁷ 1300 ducats or florens, [as I read, which was an hard valuation, considering the smalnesse of circuit belong-

Rochester

has one Arch-
deacon.

¹—¹ belongeth unto

² diocesse

³ enjoying

⁴ and at

⁵ united & strictly linked

⁶ archdeacon

⁷ charge

⁸ three score and

⁹ alienation for first frutes

¹⁰ (for I read both)

¹¹ payed

¹² pall. I woulde speake somewhat of his peculiars dispersed here and there in other shires, but sith I haue no certaine knowledge of them, I passe them ouer untill an other tyme.

¹³ whose Archdeacon hath onely three denaries under his jurisdiction contain-
ing

¹⁴ are at the least

¹⁵ these

¹⁶ afore remembred do exercise Ecclesiasticall authoritie

¹⁷ This Byshop at euerie alienation was wont to pay to the Sie of Rome.

The Bishop of
Rochester pays
the Queen on
his admission
£358 ss. 6½d.

The luckiest
Archbishop of
Canterbury was
Thomas Kempe,
son of a poor
man of Wye,

who was made
a Cardinal, and
priest in the
Court of Rome.

He favoured the
Gospel, and

started the Sab-
bath Sermons
at Paul's Cross,
which are now
the soundest in
doctrine.

London

ing to his fee. Howbeit, in my time it is so farre from ease by diminution, that it is raised to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we resolute them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three shillings, six pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciselie made than anie bishop of that see dooth take any great delight in.] He was¹ crosse-bearer in times² past vnto the archbishop of Canturburie. ³[And there are and haue bene few sees in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their bishops for the most part from this see: for as it is of it selfe but a small thing in deed, so it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer possessed it, Thomas Kempe had the best lucke, who, being but a poore mans sonne of Wye (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor), grew first to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this see, he was translated from thence to Chichester, thirddie to London, next of all to Yorke, and finallie, after seauen and twentie yeares, to Canturburie, where he became also cardinall, deacon, and then preest in the court of Rome, according to this verbe, *Bis primas, ter præses, bis cardine functus*. Certes I note this man, bicause he bare some fauour to the furtherance of the gospell; and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and tooke order for the continuall maintenance of a sermon there vpon the sabaoth, which dooth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the soundest doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for such strangers to resort vnto as haue no habitation in anie parish within the citie where it standeth.]³

The see of London⁴ [was erected at the first by

¹ also

² tyme

³ and Iustus was the first Byshop that was installed in the same.

⁴ whereof Mellitus is accounted to be the first Pastor in the Popish Cataloge, is now contented to be under the gournance of a Bishop, which in olde time had hir Archebishop vntill Cantorbury bereft hir of that honour by the practise of Augustine

Lucius, who made it, of an archeffamine¹ and temple of Jupiter, an archbishops see, and temple vnto the liuing God, and so it continued, vntill Auguftine tranflated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbishops of London are thefe; *Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Il-tutus refitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Faglidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus* flaine by the Saxons, and *Theonus Iunior*. But ² for their iuft order of fucceffion as yet I am not re-folued; neuertheleffe the firft bithop there was ordeined by Auguftine the moonke, in the yeare of Chrift 604, in the time of Ceolrijc, after he had remooued his fee further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what fecret occafion, if not the speedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readineffe to flee out of the land, if any trouble fhould betide him. For iurifdiction⁴] it includeth Eifex, Midlefex, and part of Herefordfhire, which ³ is neither more nor leffe in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the eaft Angles,⁵ before it was vnited to⁶ the weft Saxons.⁷ [The cathedrall church belonging to this fee, was firft begun by Ethelbert of Kent, *Indic. 1. 598* of Inuber as I find, whileft he held that part of the faid kingdome vnder his gouernment. Afterward when the Danes had fundrie times defaced it, it was repaired and made vp with hard ftone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Mawrice bithop of that fee, and fometimes chapleine to the baftard Henrie the firft, allowing him ftone and ftuffe from Bainards caftell neere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his works. Howbeit the moold of the quire was not ftatelie enough in the eies of fome of his fucceffors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the

was an Arch-bishop's see till Auguftine

transferd it to Canturbury.

[p. 141]

London see includes Eifex, Middlefex, and part of Hertfordfhire.

Its Cathedral was built by Ethelbert of Kent;

rebuilt by Bishop Maurice with the stone of Baynard's Caftle,

and again built in 1256 A.D.

the monke, who, I wote not vpon what priuie occafion, remooued his Archebishops Sie from thence farder into Kent. ¹ Compare Robert Manning of Brunne.

³ and ⁵ Saxons ⁶ that of the ⁷ as our hystories doe report.

It has four Arch-
deacons,

363 parish
churches.

Henry VIII.
added the Arch-
deaconry of St
Alban's; but
that now
belongs to Lin-
coln.

Chichester

The see was
first in Selsey,

new worke, at which time also the bodies of diuerse kings and bishops were taken vp and bestowed in the walles, to the end their memories should be of longer continuance.] The iurisdiction of this see [also] vnder the bishop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit,¹ of London, Essex, Middlesex, and Colchester, who² haue amongst them to the number of 363 parish churches,³ or thereabouts, beside the peculiars belonging to the archbishop [and chapter of that house], and at euerie alienation the ⁴bishop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight shillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerse suppose to be more, than (as it now standeth) the bishop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the bishop hath five cies) I speake not, for although it be vnder the bishop of London for visitations and synods, yet is it otherwise reputed as member of the see of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath also five and twentie parishes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the rest in Herefordshire.⁴

⁵ The first beginning of the see of Chichester was in the Ile of Seales or Seolseie, and from thence translated ⁵ to Chichester, [in the time of William the bastard, and generall remoouing of sees from small villages vnto the greater townes. It] containeth ⁶ Suffex onelie ⁷ vnder ⁸ hir iurisdiction, wherein ⁸ are fixteene deanries, and ⁹ 551 ¹⁰ parish churches ¹⁰: it paid at euerie alienation to the see of Rome 333 ducats ¹¹: ¹² and after Edbert the first bishop,¹² one Cella succeeded, after

¹ that is

² and those

³ Parishes

⁴—⁴ new incumbent was bounde to pay to the Bishop of Rome 3000. ducats or florens as I reade.

⁵—⁵ Chichester (the beginning of which see was in ye Ile of Selesay, but afterwards translated.

⁶ hath now

⁷ only and the wight

⁸—⁸ which are

⁹ containing to ye number of

¹⁰—¹⁰ parishes

¹¹ as I haue reade of late

¹²—¹² One Edbert was the first bishop there, then

whome the ¹pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yeere, as now it is,) ¹ was void by many yeares. It was erected [in Seolefeie] also 711, by the decree of a synod holden in Suffex, which borrowed ² it from the iurisdiction of ³ Winchester, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. [Of all the bishops that haue beene in this see, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of anie one that hath beene of more estimation than William Read, sometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the most profound astronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which sometime I did possesse; his image is yet in the librarie there, and manie instruments of astronomie referued in that house (a college erected sometime by Walter Merton bishop of Rochester, and lord chancellor of England); he builded also the castell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Scorie or Storie his successör did the new croisse in the market place of Chichester.]

A.D. 711, and was taken from the see of Winchester.

Its best holder was the astronomer Wm Read, of Merton (whose collection I possess).

⁴The byshope of Winchester was sometime called *Winchester*. bishop of the west Saxons, and ⁵ of Dorchester, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his successörs, by Kinigils ⁶ and Oswald ⁷ of the Northumbers, ⁴ [in whose time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time, it hath iurisdiction onelie ouer] ⁸ Hamshire, ⁹ Surrie, ¹⁰ Iardefeie, Gardefeie, and ¹⁰ the Wight, ¹¹ containing ¹¹ eight deaneries, ¹² two hundred seuentie and six parish churches, ¹² and beside ¹³ all this, he ¹³ is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, [deuised by Edward the third:] ¹⁴ he paid in old time to Rome ¹⁴ 12000 ducates or florens, [but now his first fruits are 2491 pounds nine shillings eight pence halfe penie.

This see has eight deaneries, and 276 churches.

Its Bishop is Prelate of the Order of the Garter.

¹ sie

² separated

³ ye sie of

⁴ (Given in a side note in 1577 ed.)

⁵ or

⁶ Kinigils of the west Saxons

⁷ Oswald king

⁸ Winchester hath

⁹ and

¹⁰ and in olde time

¹¹ wherein are

¹²—¹³ and 276

¹³—¹⁴ that the Bishoppe of this Diocesse

¹⁴—¹⁴ his taxe at his institution was

Winchester's
the better
manger, though
Canterbury's the
higher rack.

Some of its
Bishops have
been the biggest
hypocrites and
rogues, others
the best war-
riors and coun-
sellors.

The see was
erected by
Birinus, A.D.
639.

Salisbury

was transferred
from Sherborne,

after Winchester
was divided into
two.

Sherborne had
many learned
bishops,
specially

Bishop Jewel
(author of the
Apology)

Canturburie was said to be the higher racke, but Winchester hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are also which make Lucius to be the first founder of an house of praier in Winchester, as Kinigils did build the second, and Kinwaldus his sonne the third; but you shall see the truth herof in the chronologie ensuing. And herevnto] if the old catalog of the bishops of this see be well considered of, and the acts of the greatest part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our histories, you shall find the most egregious hypocrites, the stoutest warriors, the cruellest tyrants, the richest monimongers, and politike counsellors in temporall affaires, to haue, I wote not by what secret working of the diuine prouidence, bene placed here in Winchester, since the foundation of that see, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius sent hither out of Italie) and first planted at Dorchester, in the time of Kinigils, then translated to Winchester, where it dooth yet continue.

Salisbury [was made the cheefe see of Shirburne by bishop Harman (predecessor to Osmund) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it] hath now Barkeshire,¹ Wilshire,² [and Dorsetshire vnder his iurisdiction.] For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Winchester was diuided in two, so that onelie Hamshire³ and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorset, Barkeshire, Summerfet, Deuon & Cornewill assigned vnto Shirburne,⁴ till other order was taken. [Bishop Adelme did first sit in that bishoprike (704 as I said) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the said diuision. And as manie lerned bishops did succeed him in that roome, before and after it was remooued to Sarum; so there was neuer a more noble ornament to that see than bishop Iuell, of whose great learning and iudgement the world it selfe beareth witness, notwithstanding that the papists prefer S. Osmund (as they call

¹ and

² onely

³ Hampton

⁴ Salisbury

him) because he builded the minster there, and made the portesse called *Ordinale ecclesiastici officij*, which old preests were woont to vse. The bishops also of this see were sometimes called bishops of Sunning, of their old mansion house neere vnto Reading (as it should seeme) and among those that liued before the said Iuell, one Roger builded the castell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the first, taken in those daies for the strongest hold in England, as vnto whose gate there were regals and gripes for six or seuen port cullises. Finallie this see paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir maiestie in my time 1367 pounds twelue shillings eight pence, as I did find of late.]¹

and Osmund, who establisht the Sarum use.

They were sometimes calld Bishops of Sunning.

Another Bishop built Devizes Castle.

Excester hath Deuonshire and Cornewall, [sometime two seuerall bishoprics, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Excester in the time of the Bastard or soone after. It began vpon this occasion, *Anno Gratiae* 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward & Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie, among the Gewises,² wherein it was found, that the see of Winchester had not onellie bene without hir pastor by the space of seuen yeres, but also that hir iurisdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Winchester and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that see was now diuided into foue parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir see then at saint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iurisdiction in Deuonshire, Kirton, or Cridioc: and the bishop of Welles being allowed Dorset and Barkshires for his

Excester has Devon and Cornwall,

A.D. 905;

[? p. 142]

out of Winchester and Sherborne were made three fresh sees.

¹ The valuation hereof in Rome was lately 4000 ducats or florens, as the tax thereof yet recordeth. Certes I haue not read of any bishop that hath bene a greater ornament to this See then Bishop Jewell lately deceased, sith the tyme that Adelme dyd first beginne that Bishopricke 704, which was before a percell of the iurisdiction of Winchester, founded at Shirburne, & afterward translated to Salisbury, but I can not well tell in what yeare after the conquest.

part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, these two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited,]¹ the valuation² thereof was taxed by the see of Rome at fix thousand ducats or florens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation;² [but verie hardlie (as I gesse) fith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermoſt, I find that it is litle worth aboue fiue hundred pounds by the yeere, bicauſe hir tenths are but fiftie.]

*The Bishopprie
of Exeter is*

*worth a little
ouer £500 a year
now.*

*Bath.
This see was
once at Wells.*

*It's now worth
£533 ls. a year.*

*It was erected
A.D. 905.*

*The bishoprike
of Shireburne
divided into
three.*

Bath, whose see was sometime at Welles, [before John the bishop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094,] hath Summerſetſhire oulie, and the valuation thereof³ in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie florens: but in hir maiesties books I find it fiue hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od ſhilling: which declareth a precise examination of the estate of that see.³ [Of the erection of this bishoprike, mentioned in the discourse of Exceſter, I find the former assertion confirmed by another author, and in ſomewhat more large maner, which I will also remember, onelie because it pleaseth me ſomewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer.] This bishoprike [(faith he)] was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewiſes, whereat king Edward of the weſt-Saxons, and Plegimond archbishop of Canturburie were present. For that part of the countrie had beene ſeuene yeeres without anie paſtorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agreed, that for the two bishoprikes (whereof one was at Wincheſter, another at Shireburne) there ſhould be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better inſtructed. By this meanes Frithſtan was placed at Wincheſter, and Etheline at Shireburne,

¹ &

²⁻³ of this liuing was 6000. ducates, which were payde at euerie alienation vnto the Biſhoppe of Rome.

³⁻³ was rated at 430 Ducates in ye Popiſh taxation, except I be deceived.

both of them being then void. Shireburne also sustained the subdiuision; so that Werstane was made bishop of Cridioc or Deuonshire (whose see was at Kirton) Herstan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkshire and Dorsetshire were appointed. But now you see what alteration is made, by consideration of the limits of their present iurisdiccions.

Worcester sometime called *Episcopatus Wicciorum* Worcester
 [(that is, the bishoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies)]
 hath Worcester, & part of Warwickshires. And before
 the bishoprike of Glocester was taken out of the same,
 it paid to the pope two thousand ducats of gold at
 euerie change of prelat: [but now the valuation there-
 of is one thousand fortie nine pounds, seauen pence
 halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance doo
 deceiue me.)] This see was begunne either in, or not
 long before the time of Offa king of the east-Angles,
 and Boselus was the first bishop there; after whome
 succeeded Ostfort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage
 to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the said Offa,
 and there gat a monasterie (which he builded in Wor-
 cester) confirmed by Constantine the pope. [In this
 see was one of your lordships ancestors sometime bishop,
 whose name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie
 and of the canon law, who, during the time of his
 pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north side
 of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the
 same (as I haue beene informed.) Certes this man
 was once elected, and should haue beene archbishop of
 Canturburie in the roome of Reginald that died 1313
 vnder Edward the second: but the pope frustrated his
 election, fearing least he would haue shewed himselfe
 more affectionate towards his prince than to his court
 of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the
 bishop of Worcester then being. And furthermore,
 least he should seeme altogether to reiect the said
 Thomas and displease the king, he gaue him in the end

is valu'd at
 £1049 0s. 7½d. a
 year.

Dr Cobham (an
 ancestor of Sir
 Wm Broke, knt,
 Baron of Cob-
 ham, to whom
 this 'Descrip-
 tion' is dedi-
 cated) was once
 Bishop of Wor-
 cester,
 and lies buri'd
 in the Cathed-
 ral.

Five Italians
succeeded each
other as Bishops
of Worcester.
Their moralls
were about as

good as their
English.

Glocester

was erected by
Henry VIII.

Hereford

is valu'd at £768
10s. 10½d.

the bishoprike of Worcester, whereinto he entred 1317, *Martij* 31, being thurſdaie (as appeereth by the register of that house) after long plee holden for the aforesaid see of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein most monie did oftenest preuaile. This is also notable of that see, that fīue Italians succeeded ech other in the same, by the popes prouision; as *Egidius*, *Syluester*, *Egidius* his nephue (for nephues might say in those daies; "Father, shall I call you vncl?" And vnclses also; "Son, I must call thee nephue?") *Iulius de Medices*, afterward pope Clement, and *Hieronymus de Nugutis*: men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of these being at the first but poore men in Rome, and yet able by selling all they had to make a round summe against a rainie daie, came first into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the best liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not easilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.]

Glocester hath Gloucestershire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 parish churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome,—bicause it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had abolished the vsurped authoritie of the pope,—except in queene Maries, if anie such thing were demanded,¹ as I doubt not but it was: [yet is it woorth yeerelie 315 pounds, seauen shillings three pence, as the booke of first fruits declareth.]

Hereford hath Herefordshire and part of Shropshire, and [it] paid to Rome at euerie ² alienation ² 1800 ducats ³ at the least [but in my time it paieth vnto hir maiesties cofers 768 pounds, ten shillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this see there was a bishop sometime called John Bruton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent

¹ demeaned

² change of Bishop

³ or florens

maintenance, bestowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his register faith. A wonderfull preferment, that bishops should be preferred from the pulpit, to the custodie of wardrobes! but such was the time. Neuerthelesse, his honorable custodie of that charge is more solemne remembred, than anie good sermon that euer he made, which function peradventure he committed to his suffragane, sith bishops in those daies had so much businesse in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.]

To increase his income, Bishop Bruton was made Keeper of the King's Wardrobe!

Lichfield, wherevnto Couentrie was¹ added, [in the time of Henrie the first, at the earnest sute of Robert bishop of that see] hath Staffordshire, Darbyshire, part of Shropshire, and the rest of Warwicksire, that is void of subiection to the see of Worcesterhire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the south Mercians, which laie on this side the Trent, and therein one Dinas was installed, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom³ Kellac [first.] then Tunher an Englishman, ⁴succeeded, this later being well learned, and ⁴consecrated by the Scots. [In the time of the bastard, I wot not vpon what occasion, one Peter, bishop of this see, translated his chaire ⁵to Chester, and there held it for a season, whereby it came to passe that the bishops of Lichfield were for a while called bishops of Chester. But Robert, his successor, not likeing of this president, remooued his chaire from Chester to Couentrie, and there held it whilest he liued, whereby the originall diuision of the bishoprike of Lichfield, into Lichfield, Chester, and Couentrie, dooth easilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be united, and Chester remaineth a bishoprike by it selfe.] It paid ⁶the pope at euerie

Lichfield.²

contains Stafford, Derbyshire, &c.

[³ p. 143]

Why its Bishops were once call'd Bishops of Chester.

Now Lichfield and Coventry are one bishopric; and Chester another.

¹ is

³ succeeded

⁴ but

² whose Sie was holden for a time at westchester, that now hath a Bishop of hir owne.

⁶ to the Pope

alienation⁶ 1733¹ florens, or (as some old bookes haue) 3000, a good round summe,¹ but not without a iust punishment,² as one faith, sith that anno 765, Edulfe, bishop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbishop of Canturburie of his pall, & so did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the same vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme.³ [Before the time also of bishop Langton, the prebends of this see laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars also had an house, of which this honest bishop misliked not a little for sundrie causes; wherefore he began their close, and bestowed so much in building the same, and pauing the streets, that his hungrie kinsmen did not a little grudge at his expenses, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the freends of most bishops gaped earnestlie in those daies. King John was the greatest benefactor vnto this see, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quasi mortuorum campus*, bicause of the great slaughter of christians made there (as some write) vnder Dioclesian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fve shillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a summe verie narrowlie cast by that auditor which tooke it first in hand.]

Bishop Langton built the Cathedral Close at Lichfield.

Lichfield = field of the corpses.

The yearly value of the bishopric is £703 5s. 2½d.

[*Oxford*]

Goldwell, a Jesuit, was Bishop in Queen Mary's time.

³ Oxford hath Oxfordshire onelie, a verie yoong iurisdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of queene Marie, one Goldwell was bishop, who (as I remember) was a Jesuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuerfant (as the [constant] fame went) in the blacke art, than skilfull in the scriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongst the

¹—¹ Ducates, in mine opinion a good round fine.

²—² sith that in times past vz. 765 Eldulf Bishoppe there under King Offa of Mertia woulde haue bereft the sie of Cantorbury of hir pall in the time of Pope Adriane, and so dyd for a season till thinges were reduced into their former order.

³ Oxorde (side heading).

Romane monarchs. It is said that, obseruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities [of that see] : but I haue heard since that he wist well inough what became of those commodities, [for by one meane and other he found the sweetnesse of 354 pounds sixteene shillings three pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was passing skilfull, as the same then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.]

Out of his £354
16s. 3½d. a year,

he kept a friar
to draw circles,
&c. for his practice
in the
Black Art.

Elie hath Cambridgshire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the first, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Heruie also was made bishop there, as I haue found in a register, belonging sometime to that house [being translated from Bangor]. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the registers there do¹ testifie at large. [² Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds sixteene shillings three pence halfe penie farthing, whole dieme, ioined to those of all the bishopriks in England, doo yeeld yearelie to hir maiesties coffers 23370 pounds sixteene shillings three pence halfe penie farthing : whereby also the huge sums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome dooth in some measure appeere. Ethelwold, afterward bishop of Winchester, builded the first monasterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands ; howbeit the same house, whereof he himselfe was abbat, was yer long destroied by enimies, and he, in lieu of his old preferment, rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforefaid bishoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldnesse he expelled the secular preefts, and stored with moonkes prouided from Abandune neere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar, and Dunstane, then metropolitan of England. There was sometime a greeuous conten-

Elie.

erected 1109 A.D.

[² This addition
ends on p. 55.]

All the Bishops'
tenths amount
to £23370 16s.
3½d. a year, and
go to the Queen.

¹ doth

The grievous
dispute between
Bishop Lild of
Ely, and King
Edward III. :-

The unlearned
Robert Stretton

is chosen Bishop
of Ely

The Pope stays
his consecration.

Stretton goes to
Rome,

bribes the Pope
is approv'd, and
on his return is
rude to the
King, who

orders him out
of the room.

The Duchess of
Lancaster dis-
putes the
Bishop's right to
some land :

[tion betweene Thomas Lild bishop of this see, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, becaufe the matter is so parciallie penned by some of the brethren of that house, in fauour of the bishop; & for that I was also abused with the same in the entrance thereof at the first into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned, and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on so farre, that what for loue, and somewhat else, of a canon of Lichfield he was chosen bishop of that see. Herevpon the pope, vnderstanding what he was by his *Nuncio* here in England, staid his consecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane season committed his examination to the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of Rochester, who felt and dealt so fauourable with him in golden reasoning, that his worthinesse was commended to the popes holinesse; & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome, the pope himselfe apposed him, and after secreet conference vtterlie disablen his election, till he had prooued by substantiall argument and of great weight before him also, that he was not so lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reasoning so well pleased his holinesse, that *Ex mera plenitudine potestatis*, he was made capable of the benefice, and so returneth into England; when he came home, this bishop being in the kings prefence, told him how he had doone he wist not what, in preferring so vnmeet a man vnto so high a calling. With which speech the king was so offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his prefence. In like sort the ladie Wake, then duchesse of Lancaster, standing by, and hearing the king hir cousine to gather vp the bishop so roundlie, and thereto an old grudge against him for some other matter, dooth presentlie picke a quarrell against him about certeine lands then in his possession; which he

[defended, & in the end obtained against her by plea and course of law yer long also afore hapned in a part of hir house, for which she accused the bishop, and in the end, by verdict of twelue men found that he was priue vnto the fact of his men in the said fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid, euerie penie.

he defends it,
and keeps the
land,

but has to pay
£900 damages.

Neuerthelesse, being fore griued, that she had (as he said) wrested out such a verdict against him, and therein packed vp a quest at hir owne choise: he taketh his horffe, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his speech was so blockish, & termes so euill fauoredlie (though maliciousslie) placed, that the king tooke yet more offense with him than before; insomuch that he led him with him into the parlement house, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accused him of no small misdemeanor toward his person by his rude and threatening speeches. But the bishop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he still auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witnesse: wherevpon he is banished from the kings prefence during his naturall life by verdict of that house. In the meane time the duchesse hearing what was doone, she beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betweene their seruants, one of hir men was slaine: for which he was called before the magistrat, as chiefe accessarie vnto the fact. But he, fearing the sequele ¹ of his third cause by his succeffe had in the two first, hideth himselfe after he had sold all his moouables, and committed the monie vnto his trustie friends. And being found giltie by the inquest, the king seizeth vpon his possessions, and calleth vp the bishop to answer vnto the trespassse. To be short, vpon safe-conduct the bishop commeth to the kings prefence, where he denieth that he was accessarie to the fact,

The Bishop (of
Ely), angry at
the false verdict,
complains to the
King, but so
rudely

that the King
accuses him
before the Par-
liament,

and he is banisht
from the King's
presence.

The Duchesse
then summons
him for being
accessary to the
death of one of
her seruants.

[¹ p. 144]

The Bishop
hides himself,
and is found
guilty,

but asks for
trial by his
peers.

Edward III.
condemns the
Bishop of Ely.
The Bishop
appeals first to
the Archbishop,

and then to the
Pope.

His accusers
don't attend at
Rome, and are
excommunicated.

Edward III.
forbids the
import of Papal
bulls, &c.

The Pope
threatens the
King with
curses.

At last the King
gives way; and
then

[either before, at, or after the deed committed, and therevpon craueth to be tried by his peeres. But this petition was in vaine: for sentence passeth against him also by the kings owne mouth. Wherevpon he craueth helpe of the archbishop of Canturburie, and priuileges of the church, hoping by such meanes to be solemnlie rescued. But they, fearing the kings displeasure, who bare small fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vse anie such meanes; but rather willed him to submit himselfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refused, standing vpon his innocencie from the first vnto the last. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman should so preuaile against him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his case might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iustice (faith he) is to be looked for than to be found in England. Vpon the perusall of these his letters also, his accusers were called thither. But for so much as they appeered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them also as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and doong-hilles, *Vnde timor & turba* (faith my note) *in Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all proccesses, billes, and whatsoeuer instruments should come from Rome; such also as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either dismembred of some ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage so incensed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater curses, except he did the sooner staie the furie of the lady, reconcile himself vnto the bishop, and finallie, making him amends for all his losses susteined in these broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuerthelesse, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betweene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himself did end the quarrell,

[by taking awaie the bishop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue somewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that *Stephan Birchington* dooth deliuer it, who also hath the same in manner as I deliuer it.]¹

luckily, Bishop
Stretton dies.

[¹ This addition
begins on p. 51.]

² The see of Norwich ³ called in old time *Episcopatus* ³ *Donnicensis*, *Dononiæ*, or *Eastanglorum*, was erected at Felstow or Felixstow, where Felix of Burgundie (sometime schoolemaster to Sigebert of the east-Angles, by whose perswasion also the said Sigebert erected the vniuersitie at Cambridge) being made bishop of the east-Angles first placed his see, afterward it was remooued from thence to Donwiche, and thence to Helmeham, Anno 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Bastard, to Norwich. For iurisdiction, it containeth in our daies Norffolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the first it included Cambridgeshire also, and so much as laie within the kingdome of the east-Angles.³ It began about the yeere 632, vnder Cerpenwald ⁴ king of the east-Saxons, ⁵ who bestowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius also confirmed, and after which he held it by the space of seauenteene yeeres.⁵ ⁶ It paid [sometimes] at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome.⁷ [But in my time hir maiestie hath 899 pounds, 8 shillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the same iurisdiction also there were once 1563 parish churches, and 88 religious houses: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of these I know one conuerted into a barne, whilest the people heare seruice

Norwich.

was founded at
Felixstow,
about 632 A.D.,

then remov'd to
Donwiche, to
Helmeham,

and lastly to
Norwich.

Felix was the
first Bishop.

Its value is
£899 8s. 7½d. a
year.

It contains
1200 churches:
one turned into
a barn,

²⁻³ Northwich

²⁻³ domucensis, (whose sie was first at Helmeham, then at Thetforde) hath Suffolke and Norfolk. The circuite hereof was once all one, with that of the Kinges of the east Angles, till Ely was taken from the same, & ⁴ Eorpenwalde

⁵⁻⁶ and one Felix of Burgundy, was first Bishop there, who sate seuentene yeares, and was placed therein by Honorius the Pope,

⁶ finally it

⁷ of curraunt money as I reade

the bell us'd to
hang on an oak
but that's gone
now.

The little chapel
on Ashley com-
mon is too small
for the parish-
ioners.

Peterborow.

was founded by
Henry VIII.,

and yields £450
a year, less 1d.

I've seen an old
deed of gift to
the old Monas-
tery by King
Wulfhere, &c.

further off vpon a greene : their bell also when I heard a sermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a steeple. But now I vnderstand that the oke likewise is gone. There is neuerthelesse a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Ashlie towne that should come to the fame in such wise, if they did repaire thither as they ought.]

Peterborow, sometimes a notable monasterie, hath Northampton and Rutland shires [vnder hir iurisdiction], a diocesse erected also by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid first fruits to the pope ¹before¹ queene Maries daies ²(if it were then deliuered) wherof I doubt,² because it was ³not recorded in his⁴ ancient register of ⁵tenths and fruits,⁵ [although peradventure the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpose; it yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue seene and had an ancient iarror of the lands of this monasterie, which agreeth verie well with the historie of *Hugo le Blanc* monke of that house. In the charter also of donation annexed to the same, I saw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, signed with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Suffex, Sebbie of Essex, with the additions of their names : the rest of the witnesses also insued in this order :

Ethelred brother to *Wulfhere*,

Kindburg and *Kindswith* sisters to *Wulfhere*,

Deusdedit archbishop,

Ithamar bishop of Rochester.

Wina bishop of London,

Iarnman bishop of Mearc,

Wilfride and *Eoppa* preests,

Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldersmen of England in order; and after all these, the name of pope Agatho,

¹—¹ but in ²—² if ought were then demanded
³ was a sio ⁴ the ⁵—⁵ hys first fruites and tenthes

who confirmed the instrument at the sute of Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, in a counsell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & five and twentie bishops, wherein also these churches were appropriated to the said monasterie, to wit, Breiding, Reping, Cedenac, Swinefheued, Lufgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident testimonie how long the practise of appropriation of benefices hath beene vsed to the hinderance of the gospel, and maintenance of idle moonks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocrisie.]

Churches appropriated to the Monastery of Peterborough in old time,

to keep idle monks.

Bristow hath Dorsetshire sometime belonging to Salisburie, a see [also] latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no small care for the church of Christ, and therefore eased a number of ancient sees of ¹some part of their huge and ouer-large¹ circuits, and bestowed ²those portions deducted,² vpon such other [erections] as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: [the value thereof is three hundred foure score and three pounds, eight shillings, and foure pence (as I haue beene informed.)]

Bristow.

yearly value, £383 8s. 4d.

Lincolne of all other ³of late times³ was the greatest; ⁴and albeit⁴ that out of it were taken the sees⁵ of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it ⁶still retaineth⁶ Lincolne, Leicefter, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham shires, and the rest of Hertford; so that it extendeth⁷ from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope⁸ five thousand ducats (as appeereth by ⁹his note⁹) at euerie alienation. [In my time, and by reason of hir diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight shillings, seauen pence farthing.] It began [since the conquest,]

Lincolne.

The see stretches from the Thames to the Humber.

Its yearly value is £399 8s. 7½d.

¹⁰about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remooued his see ¹¹from Dorchester to

[¹⁰p. 145]

¹—¹ theyr superfluous

²—² the same

³—³ in times past

⁴—⁴ for although

⁵ Bishoprijkes

⁶—⁶ retaineth still

⁷ extended

⁸ for the whole

⁹—⁹ record

¹⁰—¹¹ to Lincolne from Dorchester

Lincolne¹¹ ¹(not without licence well paid for vnto the king.)¹ And thus much of the² bishopriks which³ lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that [I] proceed with Wales.

Landaffe.

Landaffe, or the church of Taw⁴ hath ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in⁴ Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor shires. And [although it] paid⁵ seuen hundred ducats⁶ at euerie exchange of prelat; [yet is it scarfelie worth one hundred fiftie and fve pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore bishoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long since by the lord president in open court made answer: "The daffe is here, but the land is gone." What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the seed time and the free planting of the gospell, the meate of the labourer shall not be diminished and withdrawn.]

A poor bishopric, as its last Bishop said.

S. Davids.

S. Davids hath Penbroke and Caermardine shires, whose liuerie or first fruits to the see of Rome was one thousand and fve hundred ducats, at the hardest (as I thinke.) [For if record be of anie sufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and seauen pounds, one shilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and so it paieth vnto hir maiesties coffers; but in time past I thinke it was farre better. The present bishop misliketh verie much of the cold situation of his cathedrall church; and therefore he would gladlie pull it downe, and set it in a warmer place: but it would first be learned what suertie he would put in to see it well performed: of the rest I speake not.]

Its Bishop doesn't like the cold situation of his Cathedral, and wants to remove it.

Bangor.

Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernarvon, Angleseie, and Merioneth shires vnder hir iurisdiction. It paid⁷ to Rome 126 ducats⁸: [which is verie much.

¹ as Math. Westminster doth report ² such ³ as ⁴ containeth

⁵ paid to Rome ⁶ as I reade ⁷ also

⁸ or florence, as their bowkes doe yet declare

For of all the bishoprikes in England it is now the least for reuenues, and not woorth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and sixteene pence to hir maiesties coffers at euerie alienation (as appeereth by the tenths, which amount to much lesse than those of some good benefice) for it yeeldeth not yeerelie aboue thirteene pounds, three shillings, and seauen pence halfe penie, as by that court is manifest.]

Bangor is the poorest Bishopric of all.

S. Asaphes hath Prestholme and part of Denbigh and Flintshires [vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall,] which being laid together doo amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore ¹ in respect of circuit the least ¹ that is to be found in ² Wales, neuerthelesse ³ it paid to Rome 470 ducates ⁴ at euerie alienation.⁴ [In my time the first fruits of this bishoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen shillings six pence, wherby it seemeth to be somewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor last remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintshire in the compasse of this iurisdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of siluer yeerelie to the best harper in Wales: but did anie bishop thinke you deserue that in the popish time? Howell or Aphowell in English is all one (as I haue heard) and signifie so much as Hugo or Hugh.]

S. Asaphes.

Its Firstfruits are £187 11s. 6d.

Mr Howell of Flintshire is bound to giue a silver harp yearly to the best harper in Wales.

⁵ Hitherto of the prouince [of] Canturburie, for so much therof as [now] lieth ⁶ within the compasse of ⁶ this Iland. Now it resteth that I proceed with the ⁷ curtailed archbishoprike of Yorke: I saie curtailed, because all Scotland is cut from his iurisdiction and obedience.⁷

Now for the Archbishopric of Yorke.

The see of Yorke ⁸ was restored ⁸ about the yeare of Grace 625, ⁹ which after the comming of the Saxons laie desolate and neglected, howbeit at the said time ⁹ Justus [archbishop] of Canturburie ¹⁰ ordeined Paulinus

Yorke.

¹—¹ iustly supposed to be ye lest Bishoprijcke

² within ³ yet

⁴—⁴ except my memory doth fayle

⁵ And

⁶ in

⁷—⁷ other of Yorke in such order as I may.

⁸—⁸ beganne

⁹—⁹ under

¹⁰ who

The Archbishopp-
ric of York.

Wilfrid ap-
pointed to it,

but Chad held
it three years
first.

Cut into two,
York and
Durham.

Edward I. builit
the new town of
Nottingham.

The Firstfruits
of York are
£1609 19s. 2d.
God save the
Queen!

Chester.

¹ to be ¹ first bishop there, in the time of Eadwijn ² king of Northumberland.³ [This Paulinus fate six yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whose expulsion that seat was void long time, wherby Lindeffarne grew into credit, and so remained vntill the daies of Ofwie of Northumberland, who sent Wilfred the priest ouer into France, there to be consecrated archbishop of Yorke: but whilest he taried ouer long in those parts, Ofwie, impatient of delaie, preferred Ceadda or Chad to that roome, who held it three yeares, which being expired, Wilfred recouered his roome, and held it as he might, vntill it was seuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulfstade, or Lindeffarne, where Eata was placed, at which time also Egfride was made bishop of Lincolne or Lindfie in that part of Mercia which he had gotten from Woolfhere.] Of it selfe it hath [now] iurisdiction ouer Yorkeeshire, Notinghamshire [(whose shire towne—I meane the new part thereof with the bridge—was builled by king Edward the first surnamed the elder before the conquest)] and the rest of Lancastershire [onelie] not subiect to the see of Chester; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his see 1000 ducates, beside ³ 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well spare [of late,] considering the [curtailing &] diminution of his see, ⁴ thorough ⁴ the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland,⁵ [but in my time it yeeldeth 1609 pounds nineteene shillings two pence to hir maiestie, whom God long preferue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.]

Chester [vpon Dee, otherwise called Westchester,] hath [vnder hir iurisdiction in causes ecclesiasticall,] Chestershire, Darbeshire, the most part of Lancastershire [(to wit] vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part

¹—¹ the

⁴—⁴ by meanes of

² of king Northumberland

³ beside also

⁵ as I haue shewed else where

of Flint & Denbigh shires in Wales. ¹ It was made a bishoprike by king *H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij* 16, and so hath continued since that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beside od twentie pence (a streit reckoning) as the record declareth.¹

Bishopric of
Chester founded
by Henry VIII.

Durham hath the countie of Durham² and Northumberland [with the Dales onelie vnder hir iurisdiction, and] hereof³ the bishops⁴ haue sometimes beene⁴ earles palantines, & ruled the roft vnder the name of the bishoprike [and succession of S. Cuthbert. It was] a see (in mine opinion) more profitable [of late vnto hir maiesties coffers by 221 pounds eightene shillings ten pence farthing,] and [yet] of lesse countenance than hir⁵ prouinciall, [neuertheles the funne-shine thereof (as I heare) is now somewhat eclipsed, and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increase in hir estate. I heare also that some other flitches haue for-gone the like collops, but let such maters be scanned by men of more discretion. *Capgrau*e saith how that the first bishop of this see was called bishop of Lindsey (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Percians in a mansion house neere the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the West-saxons, bestowed all the land betweene the These & the Tine now ca'lled the bishoprike, vpon S. Cuthbert, beside whatsoeuer belonged to the see of Hagulfade. Edgar of Scotland also in the time of the Bastard gaue Coldingham and Berwike with all their appurtenances to that house; but whether these donations be extant or no as ye., I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that *Leland* had a sight o' them, from

Durham.
[or Lindseyarne]

£221 18s. 10½d.

Capgrau says
its first Bishop
was calld Bishop
of Lindsey or
Lincoln.

Donations to it

(from Leland).

¹—¹ In the old popish tyme there was no Bishoprijck called by that name (although the Byshop of Leechfelde had sometime his Sie pitched in that place, and therefore of some was called Bishop of Chester) sith king Henry the eight was the first, that erected any there. ² onely ³ whereof ⁴ beene sometimes ⁵ his

Bishopric of
Durham.

[p. 146]

Caerleill.

Its present
valuation is
£531 14s. 11½d.

Carlisle was
sackt by the
Danes, and
replanted with
Southerners by
William Rufus.

whome I had this ground.] But whatsoeuer ¹this bishoprike be now, in ¹externall [& outward] apparence, sure it is that it paid [in old time] ²9000 ducates ³at euerie alienation ⁴[to Rome], as the record ⁵expresseth. Aidan a Scot [or Irishman] was the first bishop of this fee, who held himselfe (as did ⁶manie of his successors) [at Colchester and] in Lindeffarne Ile, till one came that remooued it to Durham. [And now iudge ⁷you whether the allegation of *Capgrau* be of anie accompt or not.]

Caerleill [was] erected 1132 by Henrie the first, and ⁸hereof one ⁸Ethelwoolfe confessor to Osmond bishop of Sarum was made ⁹the first ⁹bishop, hauing ¹⁰Cumberland & Westmerland [assigned to his share; of] ¹¹the deaneries and number [of] ¹²parish churches ¹²contained in the same as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie ¹³other. Howbeit hereof ¹⁴I am sure, that [notwithstanding the present valuation be risen to 531 pounds foureteene shillings eleuen pence halfe pence,] the pope receiued out of it ¹⁵[but] 1000 florens, ¹⁶and ¹⁶might haue spared much more, as an aduersarie thereto confessed sometime euen before the pope himselfe, supposing no lesse than ¹⁷to haue gained by his tale, [and so peradventure should haue doone, if his platforme had taken place. But as wise men oft espie the practises of flatteries, so the pope saw to what end this profitable speech was vttered. As touching Caerleill it selfe it was sometime sacked by the Danes, and eftsoones repaired by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of southerne men. I suppose that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in an ancient booke which I haue seene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ*,

¹ it be for ² to Rome ³ or Florenes ⁴ chaunge
⁵ yet expresseth ⁶ also manie ⁸⁻⁸ wheraof
⁹⁻⁹ original ¹⁰ hath ¹¹ as for ¹²⁻¹² parishes ¹³ of the other
¹⁴ of this ¹⁵ at euery chaunge of Byshop ¹⁶ albeit that it ¹⁷ but

octo capitulorum, episcopatus Cardocensis. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our bishoprikes of England, whose tenths in old time yearlie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue shillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in those daies, doo euidentlie declare, what store of coine was transported out of the land vnto the papall vses, in that behalfe onelie.

The tenths of the English Bishoprics, £21,111 12s. 1½d., shew what the Pope got out of England.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in those daies, for such commodities were raised by his courts holden here, so plentifully gat he by his perquisites, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, seales, preests, concubines, eating of flesh and white meats, dispensations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and such like faculties, that not so little as 1200000 pounds went yearlie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he seeke much in these daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will saie) in comparison of all those of Europe. For notwithstanding that manie good bishoprikes, latelie erected, be left out of his old bookes of record, which I also haue seene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole sum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeare before my time, of which portion poore saint Peter did neuer heare, of so much as one graie grote. Marke therefore, I praie you, whether England were not fullie answerable to a third part of the rest of his tenths ouer all Europe; and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the best paire of bellows or not, that blew the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot seeth, beside all other commodities.]

But he got more by his perquisites:

surely more than £120,000 a year went to Rome.

England was the best pair of bellows that blew the Pope's kitchen fire, and made his pot boil.

Beside all these, we haue another bishoprike yet in England ¹ almost slipped out of my remembrance, be-

Man.

¹— but

The Bishopric of
Sodor and Man.

The gift of it
lies in the Earls
of Derby.

I've thus done
my duty in
giving an
account of our
Bishoprics.

Our present
Bishops are, for
the most part,
the learnedest
in Europe.

Other old
Bishoprics.

cause it is¹ verie obscure, ²for that³ the bishop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance sufficientlie, and that is the see of Mona or Man, somtime named *Episcopatus Sodorensis*, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the first bishop, and John the second, in the ³troublesome time³ of king Stephan. The gift of this prelatie resteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate⁴ such a one from time to time therto as to them dooth seeme conuenient. Howbeit, if that see [did know and] might reape hir owne commodities, [and discerne them from other mens possessions (for it is supposed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter),] I doubt not but the state of hir bishop would quicklie be amended. ⁵Hauing therefore called this later see after this maner vnto mind, I suppose that I haue sufficientlie discharged my dutie concerning the state⁵ of our bishoprike[s],⁶ and maner how the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction of the church of England is diuided among the shires and counties of this realme. Whose bishops, as they haue beene heretofore of [lesse learning, and yet of] greater port & dooings in the common-wealth, than at this present, so are they now for the most part the best learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, sith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue [commended somewhat by freendship] doo bring them to this honour.

I might here haue spoken [more at large] of diuerse other bishopriks, sometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerlleon [tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Augustine the moonke (as *Malmesburie* saith)] where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward translated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbishoprike: secondlie of the bishoprike of Leircester [called *Legerensis*,] whose fourth

¹⁻² because

³⁻⁵ And thus much

³⁻³ reign

⁴ nominateth

⁵ bishoprijcks

bishop¹ (Unwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirddie of Ramsbirie or Wiltun, and of Glocester (of which you shall read in *Matth. Westm.* 489) where the bishop was called Eldad: also of Hagulfstade, one of the² members whereinto the see of Yorke was diuided after the expulsion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his see into³ two parts,³ making Bosfa ouer the Deiranes that held his see at Hagulfstade [or Lindfarne: and] Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who sate at Yorke: and [thereto placing] Edhedus ouer Lindseie [(as is afore noted)] whose succeffors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithstanding that one Sexulfus was ouer Lindseie⁴ before Edhedus, who was bishop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was banished from Lindseie,⁵ and came into those⁶ quarters to seeke his refuge and succour.

Glocester a veris ancient bishoprike.

Old bishoprics of Lindisfarne

and Lindsey.

I could likewise intreat of the bishops of Whiteherne, or *Ad Candidam Casam*, [an house, with the countrie wherein it stood, belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but] now a parcell of Scotland; ⁷also of the erection of the late see at Westminster by Henrie the eight. But as the one, so the other, is ceased; and the lands of this later, either so diuided or exchanged for worse tenures, that except a man should see it with his eyes, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is bestowed, but a few men would beleue what is become of the same. I might likewise, and with like ease also, haue added the succeffors of the bishops of euerie see to this discourse of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatise to an vnprofitable length. Neuerthelesse I will remember the same of

I could treat of the former see of Whiteherne in Northumberland, and of Westminster, founded by Henry VIII.,

but it 'd make my book too long.

¹ bishop called

² the three

³⁻³ three partes

⁴ Lindfarne

⁵ Lindisse

⁶ these

⁷⁻⁷ and of diuers chaunges and alterations hapning in these sies from time to time, but sith my purpose is to touch only the estate of things present it may suffice to haue sayde thus much of them though altogether beside mine intended purpose.

I'll only mention London,
my native city,
and the etymology of
Whiteherne.

London my native citie, after I haue added one word
more of the house called *Ad Candidam Casam*, in
English Whiteherne, which taketh denomination
of the white stone wherwith it
was builded, and was seene far
off as standing vpon an
hill to such as did
behold it.⁷

[⁷ See note p. 65.]

[¹ p. 147]

[² These additions end at
top of p. 70.]

Archbishops
and Bishops of
London,

¹[² The names and successions of
so manie archbishops and bishops
of London, as are extant, and to
be had, from the faith
first receiued.

Archbishops.

Theon.	}	Tadwinus <i>aliàs</i> Theodwinus, some doo write him
Eluanus.		Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Cadocus.		Tidredus <i>aliàs</i> Theodred.
Ouinus.		Hilarius.
Conanus.		Fastidius liued Anno
Palladius.	}	Dom. 430.
Stephanus.		Vodinus, slaine by the Saxons.
Iltutus.		Theonus.
Restitutus, who liued 350 of grace.	}	

The see void manie yeares.

till Augustine
remov'd his see
to Canterbury.

Augustine the moonke, sent ouer by Gregorie the great,
till he remooued his see to Canturburie, to the intent
he might the sooner flee, if persecution should be
raised by the infidels, or heare from, or send more
speedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the
interception of his letters.

Bishops.

Melitus.

The see void for a season.

Wina.	Cernulphus.	Archbishops of Canterbury :
Erkenwaldus.	Suiduiphus.	
Waldherus.	Eadftanus.	
Ingaldus.	Wulfinus.	
Egulphus.	Ethelwaldus.	
Wigotus.	Elftanus.	
Eadbricus.	Brithelmus.	Anglo-Saxon
Edgarus.	Dunftanus.	
Kiniwalchus.	Tidricus.	
Eadbaldus.	Alwijnus.	
Eadbertus.	Elfwoldus.	
Ofwinus.	Robertus a Norman.	and Norman.
Ethelnothus.	Wilhelmus a Norman.	
Cedbertus.	Hugo a Norman.	

I read also of a bishop of London called *Elfward*, or *Ailward*, who was abbat at Bouefham, and bishop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramseie ; howbeit, in what order of succession he liued, I can not tell, more than of diuerse other aboue remembred, but in this order doo I find them.

The see void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.	8 Wilhelmus de sancta Maria.	Later Archbishops of Canterbury.
2 Richardus Beaumis.	9 Eustathius Falconberg.	
3 Gilbertus vniuersalis: a notable man for three things, auarice, riches, and learning.	10 Rogerus Niger.	
4 Robertus de Sigillo.	11 Fulco Bascet	
5 Richardus Beaumis.	12 Henricus Wingham.	
6 Gilbertus Folioth.	Richardus Talbotelectus.	
7 Richardus.	15 Richard. Grauefend.	
	16 Radulfus Gandacensis.	
	17 Gilbertus Segraue.	

Archbishops of Canterbury.	18 Richardus de New- port.	29 Wilhelm. Warham.
	19 Stephanus Grauefend.	30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
	20 Richard. Bintworth.	31 Cuthbertus Tunstall.
Baldoc,	21 Radulfus Baldoc, who	32 Iohannes Stokesleie.
(2) Bonner,	made the tables hang- ing in the vesterie of	33 Richardus fitz Iames.
(2) Ridley,	Paules.	34 Edmundus Boner, re- mooued, imprisoned.
	22 Michael.	35 Nicholas Ridleie re- mooued and burned.
	23 Simon.	Edm. Boner, restored,
	24 Robertus.	remooued, & impri- soned.
	25 Thomas.	
(2) Grindall,	26 Richardus.	36 Edmundus Grindall.
(2) Sandya.	27 Thomas Sauagius.	37 Edwinus Sandes.
	28 Wilhelmus.	38 Iohannes Elmer.

Now for the
Deans of St
Paul's, and my
old Master at
Westminster
School,
Alexander
Nowel, now
living, in 1586.
(He died in
1602.)

Hauing gotten and set downe thus much of the bishops,
I will deliuer in like sort the names of the deanes,
vntill I come to the time of mine old mafter now
living in this present yeare 1586, who is none of the
least ornaments that haue beene in that feat.

Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a distribution of the psalmes contained in the whole psalter, and apointed the same dailie to be read a- mongst the prebend- aries.	5 Martinus Pateshull
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whose noble historie is yet extant in their lib- rarie.	6 Hugo de Marinis.
3 Alardus Bucham.	7 Radulfus Langfort.
4 Robertus Watford.	8 Galfridus de Berie.
	9 Wilhelmus Stamman.
	10 Henricus Cornell.
	11 Walterus de Salerne.
	12 Robertus Barton.
	13 Petrus de Newport.
	14 Richardus Talbot.
	15 Galfredus de Fering.
	16 Iohannes Chishull
	17 Herueus de Boreham.
	18 Thomas Eglesthorpe.

- | | | |
|--|--|---------------------|
| 19 Rogerus de Lalleie. | 33 Thomas Lifieux <i>aliàs</i>
Lefeux. | |
| 20 Wilhelmus ¹ de Mont-
fort. | 34 Leonardus de Bath. | |
| 21 Radulfus de Baldoc
poſtea episcopuſ. | 35 Wilhelmus Saie. | |
| 22 Alanus de Cantilup,
poſtea cardinalis. | 36 Rogerus Ratcliffe. | |
| Iohan. Sandulfe electuſ. | 37 Thom. Winterburne. | |
| Richarduſ de Newport
electuſ. | 38 Wilhelmus Wolfeie. | |
| 23 Magiſter Vitaliſ. | 39 Robert Sherebroke. | |
| 24 Iohannes Eueriſdon. | 40 Iohannes Collet, found-
er of Pauleſ ſchoole. | John Colet. |
| 25 Wilhelmus Brewer, | Richarduſ Paceuſ. | Richard Pace. |
| 26 Richarduſ Kilmingdon. | Richarduſ Sampſon. | |
| 27 Thomas Trullocke. | Iohannes Incent. | |
| 28 Iohannes Appulbie. | Wilhelmus Maiuſ reſig-
nauit. | |
| 29 Thomas Euer. | Iohannes Fakenham <i>aliàs</i>
Howman reſignauit. | |
| 30 Thomas Stow. | Henricuſ Coluſ, remooued,
imprifoned. | |
| 31 Thomas More. | Wilhelmus Maiuſ, reſtored. | |
| 32 Reginalduſ Kenton. | Alexander Nouelluſ. | Alexander
Nowel. |

And thus much of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and deaneſ of that honorable ſee. I call it honorable, be-
cauſe it hath had a ſucceſſion for the moſt part of
learned and wiſe men, albeit that otherwiſe it be the
moſt troubleſome ſeat in England, not onelie for that it
iſ neere vnto checke, but alſo the prelats thereof are
much troubled with ſutors, and no leſſe ſubiect to the
reprocheſ of the common ſort, whoſe mouthes are
alwaies wide open vnto reprehention, and eieſ readie to
eſpie anie thing that they may reprooue and carpe at.
I would haue doone ſo much for euerie ſee in England,
if I had not had conſideration of the greatneſſe of the
volume, and ſmall benefit riſing by the ſame, vnto the
commoditie of the readerſ: neuertheleſſe I haue re-

The ſee of
Canterbury
iſ the moſt
troubleſome
in England.

The common
ſort are alwayſ
readie to carpe
at Prelateſ.

¹ orig. *Wilhelmus*

serued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.¹]

[¹ Insertion began on p. 66.]

²Of Vniuersities.

Chap. 3.

[² p. 148]

(An interesting chapter. Harrison was at both universities.)

[*Many universities sometime in England.*]

Bangor,

Caerleon,

Thetford,

Stamford,

Salisbury, &c.

Salisbury flourisht under Henry III. and Edward I.

[*Three universities in England.*]

[**T** Here haue beene heretofore, and at fundrie times, diuerse famous vniuersities in this Iland, and those euen in my daies not altogether forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monasterie, not by Congellus (as some write) but by Pelagius the monke. The second at Carlheon vpon Ufke, neere to the place where the riuer dooth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodford, wherein were 600 students, in the time of one Rond sometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, suppressed by Augustine the monke, and likewise other in other places, as Salisburie, Eridon or Criclade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two last rehearsed were not authorised, but onelie arose to that name by the departure of the students from Oxford, in time of ciuill diffention, vnto the said townes, where also they continued but for a little season. When that of Salisburie began, I can not tell; but that it flourished most vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the first, I find good testimony by the writers, as also by the discord which fell 1278, betweene the chancellor for the scholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you shall see more in the chronologie here following.] ³ In my time there are three noble vniuersities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the second at

³—³ There are within the realme of England two noble and famous Universities, wherein are

Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the first two are the most famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vse of the tooings, philosophie, and the liberall sciences, besides the profound studies of the ciuil law, physicke, and theologie, a e dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by such as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the same. In the first there are³ not onelie diuerse goodlie houses builded foure square for the most part of hard freestone [or bric e], with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the same for students, after a sumptuous sort,¹ through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, queenes, bishops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but also large liuings and great reuenues bestowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be seene in anie other region, as *Peter Martyr* did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of such conuenient numbers of poore mens sonnes as the feuerall stipends bestowed vpon the said houses are able to support.

At 1. Oxford,
2. Cambridge,
3. London

In Oxford are
goodly stone
houses,

endowd with
great reuenues,

for the support
of poor men's
sones.

[When these two schooles should be first builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuerthelesse, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) so Alfred is said to be the first beginner of the vniuersitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the same to be so yong, sith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie studied in the vniuersitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that *Cantabrigia* was not so called of Cantaber, but Cair Grant, of the finisher of the worke, or at the leastwise of the riuier that runneth by the same, and afterward by the Saxons 'Grantcester.' An other sort affirme that the riuier is better written *Canta* than *Granta*, &c: but whie then is not the towne called *Cania*, *Cantium*, or *Canto-*

[When the uni-
uersities were
builded vncer-
taine.]

Cambridge was
probably begun
by Cantaber,
a Spaniard,

and was not
call'd after
Grant.

¹ maner

Cantaber came
from Biscay
to England,
and founded
the University
of Cambridge.

dunum, according to the same : All this is said onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who comming from the Brigants, or out of Biscaye, called the said towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it bene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come first into Ireland, and from thence ouer into England, fith the chronologie shall declare that it hath bene often seene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer also into Scythia, and contrariwise : coasting still through Yorkshire, which of them also was called *Brigantium*, as by good testimonie appeareth.]

[Oxford fiftie
miles from Lon-
don.]

stands most
pleasantly,
ringd with
woods on hills,
and waterd
with rivers in
the vales.

[Cambridge six
and fortie miles
from London.]

stands well,
but is too near
the fens,
which poison
the air.

But it's well
suppli'd with
fish,

though wood
is very scarce,
and is brought
from Essex,
with charcoal.

Gall and sea-
coal are burnt
too.

Of these two, that of Oxford (which lieth west and by north from London) standeth most pleasantlie,¹ being inuironed in maner round about with² woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the³ bottoms and vallies³ beneath, whose courses would breed no small commoditie to that citie [and countrie about,] if such impediments were remooued as greatlie annoie the same, [and hinder the cariage which might be made thither also from London.] That of Cambridge is distant from London about fortie and six miles north and by east, and standeth verie well, sauing that it is somewhat neere⁴ vnto the fens, whereby the wholesomenesse of the aire there is not a litle corrupted. It is excellentlie well serued with all kinds of prouision, but especiallie of freshwater fish and wildfoule, by reason of [the riuier that passeth thereby; and thereto] the Ile of Elie, which is so neere at hand. Onlie wood is⁵ the cheefe want⁵ to such as studie there, wherefore this kind of prouision is brought them either from Essex, and other places thereabouts, as is also their cole; or otherwise the necessitie thereof is supplied with gall [(a bastard kind of *Mirtus* as I take it)] and seacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it

¹ pleasantly of both

² pleasant

³⁻³ meadow

⁴ somewhat low and neere

⁵⁻⁵ one of the cheefe wants

hath not such store of meadow ground as may suffice for the ordinarie expenses of the towne and vniuersitie, wherefore ¹the inhabitants¹ are inforced in like sort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which minister the same vnto them in verie great aboundance.

Cambridge
hasn't enough
meadows.

Oxford is supposed to containe in longitude eighteene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrees and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge standing more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and therevnto fiftie and two degrees and fifeene minuts in latitude, as by exact supputation is easie to be found.

[Longitude &
latitude of both.]

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workmanship and priuat commodities, are much more statelie, magnificent, & commodious than those of Cambridge: and therevnto the streets of the towne for the most part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and [politike] regiment, the towne of Cambridge, [as the newer workmanship,] exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwise is, and hath beene, the greater of the two) by manie a fold [(as I gesse)] although I know diuerse that are of the contrarie opinion. [This also is certeine, that whatfoeuer the difference be in building of the towne streets, the townesmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the students, by incroching vpon their liberties, and keepe them bare by extreame sale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, bicause that goods euill gotten doo seldome long indure.]

The Oxford
colleges and
streets are
better than the
Cambridge,

tho' for uni-
formity and
close-lyingness,

[Cambridge
burned not long
since.]

Cambridge
exceeds the
bigger Oxford.

The Townsfolk
of both places
like to annoy
the Students,
and charge 'em
high prices.

But ill-gotten
goods don't
last.

Castels also they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be said, whether of them would be the stronger, if ech² were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and situation of ground, sith Oxford castell

Cambridge
Castle is higher
than Oxford
Castle.

³standeth low and is not so apparant ⁴to our⁴ fight. [⁵That

[³p. 149]

¹—¹ they

² both

⁴—⁴ in

[⁵ Addition ends on p. 76.]

Cambridge
Castle built by
Gurguntius ;
Oxford Castle
by Robert de
Oillie, whose
wife began the
Abbey of
Osoney.

Some magpies
annoyd her
with their
chattering.

Her chaplain
said they were
soules in Purga-
tory.

She entreated
her husband ;
and they both
began Osoney
Abbey, in
1120 A.D.

Oxford and
Cambridge
both have a St
Mary's Church,
where

[of Cambridge was builded (as they saie) by Gurguntius, sometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oillie, a noble man which came in with the conqueror, whose wife Editha, a woman giuen to no lesse superstition than credulitie, began also the abbeie of Ofeneie neere vnto the same, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occasion, which we will heere remember, though it be beside my purpose, to the end that the reader may see how readie the simple people of that time were to be abused by the practise of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, neere vnto the aforefaid castell, to recreate hir selfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies sat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine so troubled hir with their noise, that she wished them all further off, or else hir selfe at home againe, and this happened diuerse times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, she demanded of hir chapleine the cause wherfore these pies did so molest & vexen hir. "Oh madam" (saith he) the willest pie of all ; "these are no pies, but soules in purgatorie that craue releefe." "And is it so in deed?" quoth she. "Now *De pardieur*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will doo what I can to bring these soules to rest." Herevpon she consulted, craued, wept, and became so importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that synagog 1120, which afterward prooued to be a notable den. In that church also lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the same, in the habit of a vowesse, and yet to be seene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpose.

In each of these vniuersities also is likewise a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Iulie, the scholers are holden, and in which such as haue beene called to anie degree

[in the yeare preceident, doo there receiue the accomplishment of the same, in solemne and sumptuous maner. In Oxford this solemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vse the French word Commensément; and such resort is made yearelie vnto the same from all parts of the land, by the freends of those which doo proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge those guests. When, and by whome, the churches aforesaid were builded, I haue elswhere made relation. That of Oxford also was repaired in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the seuenth, when doctō Fitz James, a great helper in that worke, was warden of Merton college; but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same, that it left few pinacles standing about the church and steeple, which since that time haue neuer bene repaired. There were sometime foure and twentie parish churches in the towne and suburbes, but now there are scarfeleie sixteene. There haue bene also 1200 burgeses, of which 400 dwelled in the suburbes, and so manie students were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compasse about the towne, for their prouision of vittels.¹]

The common schooles of Cambridge also are farre more beautifull than those of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie schoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workmanship, commeth next the moold of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the seauenth did build at Westminster, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & stone three more notable piles within the compasse of Europe.

In all other things there is so great equalitie betweene these two vniuersities, as no man can imagin how to set downe any greater; so that they seeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth,

scholars take
their degrees,
at an 'Act' in
Oxford, at
'Commence-
ment' in
Cambridge.

Many folk come
to witness it.

Oxford once
had 24 parish
churches.

Now it has
hardly 16.

[¹ Insertion
began on p. 73.]

The Cambridge
schools are
far finer than
those of Oxford,
except the
Divinity school.

Than
King's Chapel,
Cambridge,
and Henry
VII.'s at West-
minster, none
in the world
are finer.

Both Oxford
and Cambridge
are dear to me,

their pupil.

English Uni-
versity life is
not like the
foreign,

without dis-
cipline.
Our Colleges
are under such
strict rule that
Erasmus

declar'd no
old monks
could be
stricter.

Students are
kept by the
Colleges,
or their rich
friends.

Some Colleges
have 200
scholars,
some less.

onlie diuided by distance of place, and not in freendlie consent [and orders]. In speaking therefore of the one, I can not but describe the other; and in commendation of the first, I can not but extoll the latter; and so much the rather, for that they are both so deere vnto me, as that I can not readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the most good will. Would to God my knowledge were such, as that neither of them might haue cause to be ashamed of their pupil; or my power so great, that I might woorthilie requite them both for those manifold kindneses that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue these things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpose. The manner to liue in these vniuersities, is not as in some other of forren countries we see dailie to happen, where the students are inforced for want of such houses, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we liue in such exact order, and vnder so precise rules of gouernement, [as] that the famous learned man *Erasmus* of *Roterodame* being here among vs 50 yeres passed, did not let to compare the trades in¹ liuing of students in² these two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient moonks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be such as not onlie can:e neere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monastical institutions that euer were deuised.

In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houses, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich freends; whereby in some one college you shall haue two hundred scholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerse a hundred and fortie, and in³ the rest³ lesse numbers; as the capacite of the said houses is able to receiue: so that at this present, of one sort and other, there are about three

¹ of

² of

³—³ diuers

thousand students nourished in them both (as by a late surueie it manifestlie appeared.) [They were erected by their founders at the first, onelie for poore mens sons, whose parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the least benefit of them, by reason the rich doo so incroch vpon them.

There are now
3000 students
in Oxford and
Cambridge.

And so farre hath this inconuenience spread it selfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowship (though he be neuer so good a scholer, & woorthie of that roome.) Such

But unluckily
poor men's sons
are being
scroug'd out by
the rich.

packing also is vsed at elections, that not he which best deferueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the woorst scholer, is alwaies surest to speed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue

It's a hard job
now for a poor
man's son to
get a fellowship.

beene in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, doo intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or estatutes deuised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without some hope of gaine), the case is too too euident: and their attempt would soone take place, if their superiors did not prouide to bridle their

The elections
are packt.
Learning 'll
be upset by
this.

indeuors. In some grammar schooles likewise, which send scholers to these vniuersities, it is lamentable to see what briberie is vsed; for yer the scholer can be preferred, such bribage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie shut out, and the richer sort

In Grammar
Schools too,
Bribery pre-
vails,

receiued (who in time past thought it dishonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, most of them studie little other than histories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their studie the end of their purposes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beside this, being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they oft bring the vniuersities into much slander. For, standing vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban^ting riotous companie [p. 150]

so that poor
men's children
don't get sent
to the Uni-
uersities.
Rich ones get
the scholar-
ships, and
then read
stories,
gamble, and
disgrace the
universities.

Rich men's
sons riot;
and excuse it
by saying
they're 'gentle-
men'!

(which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which greenueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the rest.]

*Readers in
priuat houses.*

College tutors
teach their
students.

Euerie one of these colleges haue in like maner their professors or readers of the toongs and feuerall sciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, [which is after twelue termes]) to shew themselves abroad, by going from thence into the common schooles and publike disputations (as it were ¹*In aream*¹) there to trie their skilles, and declare how they haue profited since their comming thither.

*Publike readers
maintained by
the prince.*

Moreouer, in the publike schooles of both the vniuersities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fise professors and readers, that is to saie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, phyficke, the Hebrue, and the Greeke toongs. And for the other lectures,² as of philosophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arethmetike, musike, geometrie, and astronemie, and with them all skill in the perspectiues,³ are now smallie regarded in either of them) the vniuersities themselves doo allow competent stipends to such as reade the same, whereby they are sufficientlie provided for, touching the maintenance of their estates, and no lesse incoraged to be diligent in their functions.

*Studie of the
quadriuials and
perspectiues neg-
lected.*

Each university
pays its Pro-
fessors.

The Professors
have sole
control over
the Exercises
for Degrees, &c.

These professors in like fort haue all the rule of disputations and other schoole exercises, which are dailie vsed in common schooles feuerallie assigned to ech of them, and such of their hearers, as by their skill shewed in the said disputations, are thought to haue attained [to] anie conuenient ripenessse of knowledge, according to the custome of other vniuersities, although

¹—¹ into the playne battaile ² publicke lectures ³ perfectiues

not in like order, are permitted solemnlie to take their deferred degrees of schoole in the same science and facultie wherein they haue spent their trauell. From that time forward also, they vse such difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to some countenance.

Graduates wear a distinctive dress.

The first degree,¹ is that of the generall sophisters, from whence, when they haue learned more sufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obtained thereto competent skill in philosophie, and in the mathematical, they ascend higher vnto the estate of batchelers of art, [after foure yeares of their entrance into their sophistrie.] From thence also giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in some or all the other liberall sciences, & the toongs, they rise at the last [(to wit, after other three or foure yeeres)] to be called masters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctōr in his facultie, if he professe but one of the said sciences (beside philosophie) or for his generall skill, if he be exercised in them all. After this they are permitted to choose what other of the higher studies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or physike; so that being once masters of art, the next degree, if they follow physike, is the doctōrship belonging to that profession; and likewise in the studie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the same. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vsed in that profession. First, after they haue necessarilie proceeded masters of art, they preach one sermon to the people in English, and another to the vniuersitie in Latine. They answer all commers also in their owne persons vnto two seuerall questions of diuinitie in the open schooles, at one time, for the space of two hours; and afterward replie twise against some other man vpon a

University Degree. Sophisters.

Batchelers of art.

Masters of art.

M.-Aes then take to Divinity, Law, or Physic.

The course for Divinity.

¹ degree of all

*Bachelor of
diuinitie.*

like number, and on two seuerall dates in the same place: which being doone with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batchleler of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene master of art by the space of seauen yeeres, according to their statutes.

Doctor.

3 years after
B.D.

John of
Beverley the
first Oxford
D.D.; Bede
the first Cam-
bridge one.

The next and last degree of all, is the doctorship, after other three yeares, for the which he must once againe performe all such exercises and acts as are afore remembred; and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewise taken for a doctor. [I haue read that John of Beuerleie was the first doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Bede was in Cambridge. But I suppose herein that the word 'doctor' is not so stricte to be taken in this report as it is now vsed, fith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as also such in the primitiue church as kept schooles of catechists, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptisme, or anie office in the church.]

From entry as
a student, to
D.D., takes 18
or 20 yeeres.

After 40, stu-
dents turn into
Drone Bees,

live on the
fat of the
Colleges,
and keep better
wits from their
places.

Thus we see, that from our entrance into the vniuersitie vnto the last degree receiued, is commonlie eighteene or [peraduenture] twentie yeeres, in which time if a student hath not obtained sufficient learning, thereby to serue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke, by tarieng longer, to come by anie more. [For after this time & 40 yeeres of age, the most part of students doo commonlie giue ouer their woonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, & yet dooing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearse a number (if I listed) of this sort, aswell in the one vniuersitie as the other. But this shall suffice in sted of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of

good and vpright life, as bishop Fox sometime noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit.]

[*This Fox
built Corpus
Christi college
in Oxford.*]

A man may (if he will) begin his studie with the law, or physike [(of which this giueth wealth, the other honor)] so soone as he commeth to the vniuersitie, if his knowledge in the toongs and ripenesse of iudgement serue therefore: which if he doo, then his first degree is bachelor of law, or physicke, and for the same he must performe such acts in his owne science, as the bachelors or doctors of diuinitie, doo for their parts, the onelie sermons except, which belong¹ not to his calling. ² Finallie, this will I saie, that the professors of either of those faculties come to such perfection in both vniuersities, as the best students beyond the sea doo in their owne or else where. One thing onlie I mislike in them, and that is their vsuall going into Italie, from whence verie few without speciall grace doo returne good men, whatsoeuer they pretend of conference or practise, chieflie the physicians, who, vnder pretense of seeking of forreine simples, doo oftentimes learne the framing of such compositions as were better vnknownen than practised, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is most true that doctor Turner said; Italie is not to be seene without a guide, that is, without speciall grace giuen from God, because of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.³

A competent
Student may
begin with law
or physico,

and take an
L.L.B. or M.B.
at once.

Our Professors
are as good

as the best
Continental
ones, but they
should not go
to Italy like
they do, [p. 162,
col. 2, Cp.
Ascham]

and get
corrupted.
[*So much also
may be inferred
of lawiers.*]

Dr Turner.

There is moreover in euerie house a maister [or prouost,] who hath vnder him a president, & certeine censors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauiour and maners of the students there, whom they punish verie seuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their trespasses. [And these are the vsuall names of gouernours in Cam-

In every College,
a Master,
a President,
and Censors
or Deans,
look after the
students.

¹ belongeth

²⁻³ but as these are not matters of such importance as may deserue any further tractation, I so will leaue them & go in hande with the rest,

[¹ p. 151]

Every College
has one or
more Bursars
to look to its
business.

Each University
has a Chancellor,
Vice-Chancellor,
Proctors, &c

I, William
Harrison,
have a degree
from both
Oxford and
Cambridge.

I think that
the University
authorities
ought to have
the sole power
of appointing to
Church livings.

This 'd stop
Simony, and do
folk good.

London.

A University
for law-
students.

bridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houses are¹ now and then called presidents in respect of such bishops as are their visitors & founders. In ech of these also they haue one or moe thresurers whom they call *Bursarios* or Bursers beside other officers, whose charge is to see vnto the welfare and maintenance of these houses.] Ouer each vniuersitie also there is a feuerall chancelor, whose offices are perpetuall, howbeit their substitutes, whom we call vicechancellors, are changed euerie yeare, as are also the proctors, taskers, maisters of the streates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and estate.

And thus much at this time of² our [twō] vniuersities [in each of which I haue receiued such degree as they haue vouchsafed—rather of their fauour than my desert—to yeeld and bestow vpon me, and vnto whose students I wish one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am resolutelie perswaded, and the case now standeth in these our daies. When anie benefice therefore becometh void, it were good that the patrone did signifie the vacation therof to the bishop, and the bishop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuersities, with request that the vicechancellor with his assisents might prouide some such able man to succeed in the place, as should by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken, then shoul'd the church be prouided of good pastors, by whome God should be glorified, the vniuersities better stored, the simoniacall practises of a number of patrons vtterlie abolished, and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie estate.]

To these two also we may in like fort ad the third, which is at London (seruing onelie for such as studie the lawes of the realme) where there are fundrie

² of both

famous houses, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the rest of the chancery, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of such as applie their minds ¹ to our ¹ common lawes. Out of these also come [manie] scholers of great fame, whereof the most part haue heretofore beene brought vp in one of the aforesaid vniuersities, and prooue such commonlie as in proceffe of time, rise vp (onellie through their profound skill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue also degrees of learning among themselves, and rules of discipline, vnder which they liue most ciuillie in their houses, albeit that the younger sort of them abroad in the streets are scarce able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was woont also greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, [betweene ² the students and the burgeses:] but as it is well left in these two places, so in forreine counteies it cannot yet be suppressed. Besides these vniuersities, also there are great number of Grammer schooles through out the realme, and those verie liberallie indued, for the better reliefe of poore scholers, so that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the queenes dominion, ³ that hain ⁴ not one Gramar schoole at the least, with a sufficient liuing for a maister and vther appointed to the same.

There are in like maner diuerse collegiat churches as Windfor, Wincester, Eaton, Westminster [(in which I was sometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father maister Nowell, now deane of Paules)] and in ⁵ those a great number of poore scholers, dailie mainteened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue beene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke toongs, and rules of verifieng [(the triall whereof

London University has 8 Inns of Court, and others of Chancery,

where the students are under discipline, tho' in the streets they can't be kept in order.

[Grammar schooles.]

in almost all corporate townes.

Windsor.
Winchester.
Eaton.
Westminster.
(I was at Westminster.

Poor scholars are kept and educated there.

¹—¹ unto the ² orig. detweene ³ orig. domiuiou
⁴ hath ⁵ the latter three of

Yearly examinations are held, and the scholars sent up to colleges in the Uniuersities.

I'll now give a table of the Colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, with their Founders.

is made by certeine appofers yearelie appointed to examine them)] they are ſent to certeine eſpeciall houſes in each vniuerſitie, where they are receiued the¹ trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to ſhew their faces in the ſchooles, as I haue ſaid alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuerſities, and like-wiſe of colleges in the ſame, whoſe names I will alſo ſet downe here, with thoſe² of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer periſh from among the wiſe and learned.

¹ and

² alſo

[No blank in the original.]

Of the colleges in Cambridge [with
their founders.]

<i>Years of the foundations.</i>	<i>Colleges.</i>	<i>Founders.</i>
1546	1 Trinitie college.	King Henrie 8.
1441	2 The kings college.	K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3 S. Johns.	L. Margaret, grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4 Chriftes college,	K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforefaid.
1446	5 The queenes college.	Ladie Margaret, wife to king Henrie 1 6.
1496	6 Iefus college.	Iohn Alcocke, bifhop of Elie. (<i>Chrifti.</i>)
1342	7 Bennet college.	The brethren of a popifh guild called <i>Corporis</i>
1343	8 Pembroke hall.	Maria de Valentia, counteffe of Pembroke.
1256	9 Peter college.	Hugh Balham, bifhop of Elie.
1348	10 Gundeuill and	Edmund Gundeuill, parfon of Terrington, and Iohn
1557	Caius college.	Caius d[ocor] of phyficke.
1354	11 Trinitie hall.	William Bateman, bifhop of Norwich.
1326	12 Clare hall.	Richard Badow, chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13 Catharine hall.	Robert Woodlarke, d[ocor] of diuinitie.
1519	14 Magdalen college.	Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie.
[1585]	15 Emanuell college.	[Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.]

¹ orig. Henrie

¹Of colleges in Oxford.[¹ p. 163]

Years.	Colleges.	Founders.
1339	1 Chriftes church.	King Henrie 8.
1459	2 Magdalen college.	William Wainflet, ² [firft fellow of Merton college [He founded also a good part of Eaton college, and a free ſchale at Wainflet where he was borne.] then ſcholar at] Wincheſter, [and afterward biſhop there.]
1375	3 New college.	William Wickham, b[iſhop] of Wincheſter.
1276	4 Merton college.	Walter Merton, b[iſhop] of Rocheſter.
1437	5 All ſoules college.	Henrie Chicheleie, archbiſhop of Canturburie.
1516	6 Corpus Chriſti college.	Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter.
1430	7 Lincolne college.	Richard Fleming, b[iſhop] of Lincolne.
1323	8 Auriell college.	Adam Browne, almoner to Edward 2.
1340	9 The queenes college.	R. Eglesfeld, chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.
1263	10 Balioll college.	Iohn Balioll, king of Scotland.
1557	11 S. Iohns.	Sir Thomas White, knight.
1556	12 Trinitie college.	Sir Thomas Pope, knight.
1316	13 Exceſter college.	Walter Stapleton, biſhop of Exceſter.
1513	14 Braſen noſe.	William Smith, biſhop of Lincolne.
873	15 Vniuerſitie college.	William, archdeacon of Dureſine.
	16 Gloceſter college.	[Iohn Gifford, who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.]
	17 S. Marie college.	[Hugh ap Rice, doct̃or of the ciuill law.]
	18 Ieſus college now in hand.	² B. of

[by]

There are also in Oxford certeine hostels or hals, which may right well be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them ¹ than is to be seen in the other. I[n] mine opinion the liuers ² in these are verie like to those that are of Inns ³ in the chancerie, [their names also are these so farre as I now remember.]

Hostels or Halls
in Oxford,

which have
more liberty
than Colleges,

{ Brodegates. { Hart hall. { Magdalen hall. { Alburne hall. { Poftminster hall.	}	{ S. Marie hall. { White hall. { New In. { Edmond hall.	}
---	---	--	---

[The students also that remaine in them, are called hostelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to passe, that the right reuerend father in God, Thomas late archbishop of Canturburie, being brought vp in such an house at Cambridge, was of the ignorant sort of Londoners called an 'hosteler,' supposing that he had serued with some inholder in the stable, and therefore, in despite, diuerse hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the gospell, wheras in deed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient house, & in the end a faithfull witnesse of Iesus Christ, in whose quarrell he refused not to shed his blood, and yeeld vp his life, vnto the furie of his aduersaries.]

and whose
students are
calld Hostlers
or Halliers.

Hence some
ignorant Lon-
doners calld
Archbishop
Cranmer,
an Hostler,
and hung
trusses of hay
at his gate
when he began
to preach.

Besides these, ⁴ there is mention and record of diuerse other hals or hostels, that haue beene there in times past, as Beefe hall, Mutton hall, &c: whose ruines yet appeere: so that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the shew of ancient buildings, which is verie plenti- full in Oxford to be seene, it should be an easie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuersitie. Therin are also manie dwelling houses of stone yet standing, that haue beene hals for students, of verie antike worke- manship, beside the old wals of fundrie other, whose

Old Halls
at Oxford
Beef Hall,
Mutton Hall,
&c.

Erection of
colleges in
Oxford the
ouerthrow of
hals

¹ those ² Studentes ³ the Innes of ⁴ which

plots haue beene conuerted into gardens, since colleges were erected.

Law-students'
Inns in London.

*In London also the houses of students at
the Common law are these.*

Sergeants In.		Furniuals In.	
Graies In.	}	Cliffords In.	}
The Temple.		Clements In.	
Lincolnes In.		Lions In.	
Dauids In.		Barnards In.	
Staple In.		New In.	

There are
Greedy Grippers
gaping wide for
College Lands,

haters of
learning, and
spendthrifts.

Henry VIII.
told such folk,
'The Abbey-
lands haue
flesht you;
you want the
College-lands;

*Now abbeies be
gone, our
dingthrifts
grie after
church and
college posses-
sions.*

but I'll not
take a penny
from any one
College.

[And thus much in generall of our noble vniuer-
sities, whose lands some greedie gripers doo gape wide
for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded fundrie
reasons, whereby they supposed to haue preuailed in
their purposes. But who are those that haue attempted
this sute, other than such as either hate learning, pietie,
and wisedome; or else haue spent all their owne, and
know not otherwise than by incroching vpon other
men how to mainteine themselves? When such a
motion was made by some vnto king Henrie the eight,
he could answer them in this maner; "Ah sirha, I per-
ceiue the abbeie lands haue flesht you and set your
teeth on edge, to aske also those colleges. And whereas
we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing
the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrow
all goodnesse by subuersion of colleges. I tell you, sirs,
that I iudge no land in England better bestowed than
that which is giuen to our vniuersities; for by their
maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when
we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares
therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your
selues with that you haue alreadie, or else seeke honest
meanes whereby to increase your liuelods, for I loue not
learning so ill, that I will impair the reuenues of anie
one house by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden."
In king Edwards daies likewise the same sute was once

again attempted (as I haue heard), but in vaine; for, faith the duke of Summerfet among other speeches tending to that end,—who also made answer there vnto in the kings prefence by his assignation;—"If lerning decaie, which of wild men maketh ciuill, of blockish and rash persons wise and godlie counsellors, of obstinate rebels obedient subiects, and of euill men good and godlie christians; what shall we looke for else but barbarisme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it shall be hard to saie, whose staffe shall stand next the doore; for then I doubt not but the state of bishops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie, shall be affailed, by such as liue to spend all, and thinke that what so euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath sweate and laboured for it." In queene Maries daies the weather was too warme for anie such course to be taken in hand; but in the time of our¹ gracious queene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a fort in talke the third time, but without succeffe as moued also out of season; and so I hope it shall continue for euer. For what comfort should it be for anie good man to see his countrie brought into the estate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes against learning, and would not suffer anie skilfull man to come into their councill house; by meanes whereof those people became sauage, tyrants, and mercilesse helhounds, till they restored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.]

Later, the Duke of Somerset refus'd to seize the College lands.

If they went,

then all private property 'd go too.

In Queen Mary's day, the weather was too warm for the Griper.

[p. 153]

I hope it always will be so.

Who wants Englishmen turn'd into Hellhounds?

¹ Of the partition of England into
*shires and counties.*¹

Chap. 4.²

Names of
former tribes
settled in
England.

I don't mean
to guess at
their localities,

or speak of the
Roman divisions
of our country.

³ **I**N reding of ancient writers, as *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, and others, we find mention of fundrie regions to haue beene sometime in this Iland, as ⁴ the *Nouantæ*, *Selgouæ*, *Dannonij*, *Gadeni*, *Oradeni*, *Epdij*, *Cerones*, *Carnonacæ*, *Careni*, *Cornabij*, *Caledonij*, *Decantæ*, *Logi*, *Mertæ*, *Vacomagi*, *Venicontes*, *Texali* or *polij*, *Denani*, *Elgoui*, *Brigantes parisi*, *Ordouici* alias *Ordoluci*, *Cornauij*, *Coritai*, *Catieuchlani*, *Simeni*, *Trinouantes*, *Demetæ*, *Cangi*, *Silures*, *Dobuni*, *Atterbatij*, *Cantij*, *Regni*, *Belgæ*, *Durotriges*, *Dumnonij*, *Giruij*, *Murotriges*, *Seueriani*, *Iceni*, *Tegenes*, *Casij*, *Cænimagi*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, &c:⁴ and Kentishmen, and such like. But sith the feuerall places where most of them laie, are not [yet verie] perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of these daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement⁵ vpon such doubtfull cases, leaft that in so dooing I should but increase coniectures, and, leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle⁶ his mind⁶ in the end with such as are of lesse value, and [things] nothing so likelie to be true, as those which other men haue [remembred and] set downe before me. [Neither will I speake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whose number and place of abode, except of the Viſtorian and Auguſtane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.]

¹—¹ Of the deuision of Englande, as it is now generally named, into Shyres.

² This chapter in the 1577 ed. precedes that on the Church and Bishops, and follows that on Rivers falling into the sea between the Humber and the Thames.—F.

³ (Side heading) Trinobantes, Ordolukes, Tegenes, Silures, Brigantes, Canks, Canges.

⁴—⁴ As of the Trinobantes, Ordolukes, Tegenes, Silures, Icenies, Brigantes Canges.

⁵ judgement also

⁶—⁶ him

It shall suffice therefore to begin with such a ground as from whence some better certaintie of things may be deriued, and that is, with the estate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who first diuided England into shires, which before his daies,¹ and since the coming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hide-lands; as ² the Britons did the same in their time,³ by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old ⁴ records doo ⁵ witnesse.

Alfred brought England into shires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the (first) Saxons by families.

Into how manie shires the said Alfred did first make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit, if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I suppose that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, fith we find by no good author, that aboute fiftene haue bene added by anie of his succeffours, since the time of his decease. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into shires, or shares, he diuided againe the same into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maister⁴ *Lambert*, following their authorities, hath also giuen out, saing almost after this maner in his description of Kent; "The Danes (saith he) both before, & in the time "of king Alfred, had flocked by the sea coasts of this "Iland in great numbers, sometimes waisting and "spoiling with sword and fire, wherefoeuer they might "arriue, and somtime taking great booties with them "to their ships, without dooing anie further hurt or "damage to the countrie. This inconuenience con- "tinuing for manie yeeres together, caused our hus- "bandmen to abandon their tillage, and gaue occasion "and hardinesse⁵ to euill disposed persons, to fall to the "like pillage, as practising to follow the Danes in these "their thefts and robberies. And the better to cloake "their mischeefe withall, they feigned themselues to

Alfred made

not less than 88 shires.

Shire and share all one.

1. Shires;
2. Lathes;
3. Hundreds;
4. Tithings.

Lambert's account of the Danish invasions, from his 'Perambulation of Kent.'

Englishmen noisome to their owne countrie.

¹ tyme ² Wales hath also been ³ records doth

⁴ M.

⁵ hardnesse

Lambarde's
account of
Alfred's

purpose in

dividing Eng-
land into
Shires,

having over
each, one or
both of

Earle and
alderman.

The Shires
were split into
1. Lathes;
2. Hundreds;
3. Tithings.

¹ repulsing

“be Danish pirats, and would sometime come a land
“in one port, and sometime in another, driuing dailie
“great spoiles (as the Danes had doone) vnto their
“ships before them. The good king Alfred therefore
“(who had maruellouslie trauelled in repelling¹ the
“barbarous Danes), espieng this outrage, and think-
“ing it no lesse the part of a politike prince, to root out
“the noisome subiect, than to hold out the forren ad-
“uerfarie: by the aduise of his nobilitie, and the
“example of Moses² (who followed the counsell of
“Iethro his father in law to the like effect), diuided
“the whole realme into certeine parts or sections,
“which (of the Saxon word *Schyran*, signifieng to cut)
“he termed shires, or as we yet speake, shares, or por-
“tions, ³ of which some one hath fortie miles in length
“ (as Essex) and almost so manie broad, Hereford
“ foure & twentie in length, and twentie in breadth,
“ and Warwike six and thirtie in length, &c: and some
“ of them also containe ten, twelue, thirteene, sixteene,
“ twentie, or thirtie hundreds, more or lesse, as some
“ hundreds doo sixteene, twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie
“ or sixtie townes, out of which the king was alwaies
“ to receiue an hundred able men to ferue him in the
“ warres, or a hundred men able to be pledges; and
“ ouer each of the portions he appointed either³ an earle
“ or alderman, or both, to whome he committed the
“ gouernement of the same. These shires also he brake
“ into lesse parts, whereof some were called ‘lathes’, of
“ the word *Gelathian*, which is to assemble together;
“ other, ‘hundreds’, for that they enioied⁴ iurisdiction
“ ouer an hundred pledges; and other ‘tithings’, bicause
“ there were in each of them to the number of ten⁵
“ persons, whereof euerie one from time to time was
“ suertie for others good abearing. He prouided also
“ that euerie man should procure himselfe to be re-

² Exod. 18, 13.—F. ³—³ and appointed ouer euery such one shire
⁴ coined ⁵ 6. Coke, 77. Bullen's case.—F.

"ceiued into some tithing, to the end, that if anie
 "were found of so smal and base a credit, that no
 "man would become pledge or suertie for him, he
 "should forthwith be committed to prison, leaft other-
 "wise he might happen to doo more harme abroad."

If a man
 couldn't get
 a surety,

he was put
 in prison.

Hitherto maister ¹ *Lambert*. By whose words we may
 gather verie much of the state of this Iland in the
 time of Alfred, whose institution continued after a
 fort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed
 the gouernement of the realme in such wise (by bring-
 ing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of
 their countries), that verie little of the old regiment
 remained more than the bare ² names of some officers
 (except peradventure in Kent), so that in these daies it
 is hard to set downe anie great certaintie of things as
 they stood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred
 and touched at this present.

The Normans
 chang'd Alfred's
 plans.

Some, as it were roming or rousing at the name *What a lath is.*
 Lath, [doo saie that it is deriued of a barne, which is
 called in old English a 'lath', as they coniecture. From
 which speech, in like sort, some deriue the word Laistow,
 as if it should be trulie written Lathstow, a place
 wherein to laie vp or laie on things, of whatsoever con-
 dition. But hereof as yet I cannot absolutelie be
 satisfi'd, although peradventure some likelihood in
 their iudgements may seeme to be therein. Other,
 vpon some further consideration,] affirme that they
 were certeine circuits in euerie countie or shire con-
 teining an appointed number of townes, whose inhabit-
 ants alwaies assembled to know and vnderstand of
 matters touching their portions, in to some ³ one ap-
 pointed place or other within their limits, especiallie
 whilest the causes were such as required not the aid
 or assistance of the whole countie. Of these lathes *Lettes.*
 also (as they saie) some shires had more, some lesse, as
 they were of greatnesse. And M. *Lambert* seemeth to

I'm not sure.

[* p. 164]

¹ M.

² bares

Our present
Leets are a
shadow of
Alfred's Laths.

be of the opinion, that the leets of our time (wherein these pledges be yet called *Franci plegij*, of the word Free burgh), doo yeeld some shadow of that politike institution of Alfred. But sith my skill is so small in these cases that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not set downe anie thing more than I read, [least I should roue at random in our obscure antiquities;] and reading no more of lathes, my next talke shall be of hundreds.

Hundred or
wapentake.
the same.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, [as I read in some,] and by this diuision not a name appertinent to a set number of townes (for then all hundreds¹ should be of equall quantitie) but a limited iurisdiction, within the compasse whereof were an hundred persons called pledges [(as I said)] or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewise of euerie denarie or tithing was in those daies called a tithing man, in Latine *Decurio*, but now in most places a borsholder [or burgholder], as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a [burgh or] burrow, although that in the West countrie he be still called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as [I] haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the said Alfred caused ech man of free condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be ascribed into some hundred by placing himselfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwaies haue such as should sweare or saie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honest behauior and ciuill conuersation if it should happen at anie time, that his credit should come in question. In like fort I gather out of *Leland* and other, that if anie small matter did fall out worthie to be discussed, the tithing man or borsholder (now officers, at the commandement of the [high] constable

Denarie or
tithing.

Tithing man
in Latine
Decurio.

Borsholder.

Burrow.

Alfred made
every free man
belong to a
tithing of
some hundred.

¹ hundrede

[of which euerie hundred hath one at the least]) should decide the same in their leetes, whereas the great¹ causes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greatest of all to the shire daies, where the earles or aldermen did set themselues, & make finall ends of the same, according vnto iustice. For this purpose likewise in euerie hundred were twelue men chosen of good age and wisedome, and those sworne to giue their sentences without respect of person, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in those daies. [Which waie the word wapentake came in vse, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the signification of the same declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the soldiars which were to serue in that hundred did meet, fetch their weapons, & go togither from thence to the field, or place of seruice by an ordinarie custome, then generallie knowne amongst them. It is supposed also that the word Rape commeth a *Rapiendo*, as it were of catching and snatching, bicause the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or fundrie daies & made quicke dispatch of their lords haruest at once and in great hast. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it shall suffice to haue touched them in this maner.]

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie shires, and likewise thirteene in Wales, and these latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welshmen equall in all respects vnto the English, and brought to passe that both nations should indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times past were ordred by diuerse, and those far discrepant and disagreeing one from another: as by the seuerall view of the same is yet easie to be discerned. The names of the shires in

Small disputes
settld in the
Leets, great in
the Hundreds,
greater in
the Lathes,
greatest in
the Shire-
courts.

Twelue men.

'Wapentake
so calld

from soldiars
taking their
weapons;

'Rape' said to
come from
the Latin
'Rapiendo.'

But I'm not
sure.

*Fortie shires
in England
thirteene in
Wales.*

¹ greatest

Names of
the Shires in
England.

England are these, whereof the first ten lie betweene the British sea and the Thames, [as *Polydor* also dooth fet them downe.]

10 Southern,

{	Kent.	}	{	Wilshire.	}
{	Suffex.	}	{	Dorsetshire.	}
{	Surreie.	}	{	Summerfet.	}
{	Hampshire.	}	{	Deuon.	}
{	Barkeeshire.	}	{	Cornewall.	}

There are moreouer on the northside of the Thames, and betweene the same and the riuier Trent, which passeth through the middest of England (as *Polydor* faith) fixeene other shires, whereof six lie toward the east, the rest toward the west, more into the middest¹ of the countrie.

16 Midland,

{	Essex [somtime all forrest saue one hundred.]	}	{	Huntington [wher in are foure hun- dreds.]	}
{	Middlesex.	}	{	Buckingham.	}
{	Hartfordshire.	}	{	Oxford.	}
{	Suffolke.	}	{	Northampton.	}
{	Norfolke.	}	{	Rutland.	}
{	Cambrigeshire	}	{	Leircestershire.	}
{	[in which are 12 hundreds.]	}	{	Notinghamshire.	}
{	Bedford.	}	{	Warwike.	}
{	Lincolne.	}	{	Lincolne.	}

We haue six also that haue their place westward towards Wales, whose names insue.

6 Western,

{	Glocester.	}	{	Shropshire.	}
{	Hereford.	}	{	Stafford.	}
{	Worcester.	}	{	Chesterhire.	}

And these are the thirtie two shires which lie by south of the Trent. Beyond the same riuier we haue in like fort other eight, as

¹ orig. mddest

<div> <div>Darbie.</div> <div>Yorke.</div> <div>Lancaster.</div> <div>Cumberland.</div> <div>Westmerland.</div> <div>Richemond,</div> <div>[wherein are</div> <div>fiue wapen-</div> <div>taxes, & when</div> </div>	<div> <div>it is accompted</div> <div>as parcell of</div> <div>Yorkefhire (out</div> <div>of which it is</div> <div>taken) then is it</div> <div>reputed for the</div> <div>whole Riding.]</div> <div>Durham.</div> <div>Northumberland.</div> </div>	<div>8 Northern shires.</div>

So that in the portion sometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie shires. In Wales furthermore are thirteene, whereof feuen are in Southwales: Welsh shires.

<div> <div>Cardigan, or</div> <div>Cereticon.</div> <div>Penmoroce, or</div> <div>Penbrooke.</div> <div>Caermardine,</div> <div>[wherein are 9</div> </div>	<div> <div>hundreds or</div> <div>commots.]</div> <div>Glamorgan.</div> <div>Monmouth.</div> <div>Breckenocke.</div> <div>Radnor.</div> </div>	<div>7 in South Wales.</div>

In Northwales likewise are fix, that is to saie

<div> <div>Angleſeie.</div> <div>Carnaruon.</div> <div>Merioneth.</div> </div>	<div> <div>Denbigh.</div> <div>Flint.</div> <div>Montgomerie.</div> </div>	<div>6 in North Wales.</div>

Which being added to thoſe of England, yeeld fiftie and three ſhires or counties, ſo that vnder the queenes Maieſtie are ſo manie counties, whereby it is eaſilie diſcerned, that hir power farre exceedeth that of Offa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had ſo much of Britaine vnder his ſubiection as afterward contained thirtie nine ſhires, when the diuiſion was made, whereof I ſpake before. In all, 53 ſhires under Queen Elizabeth.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuiſion of ſhires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid together in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But ſith the occaſion hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or ſome like occaſion, it is better briefelie Of parcels of ſhires.

[1 p. 155]

In Buckingham-
shire is a bit of
Hertfordshire.

In Berkshire, a
bit of Wiltshire.

In Northamp-
tonshire, a bit
of Oxfordshire.

In Oxfordshire,
2 bits of Glo'ster-
shire,

and one of
Worstershire.

In Berkshire,
2 bits of Wilt-
shire.

to set downe how some of these parts lie, than to spend the time in seeking a iust cause of this their odd¹ diuision. First therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamshire betweene Amondesham, & Beconfeld, there is a peece of Hartfordshire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length, and two in breadth, at the verie most. In Barkeeshire also, betweene Ruscombe and Okingham is a peece of Wilshire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one side lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northamptonshire directlie ouer against Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamshire, I find a parcell of Oxfordshire not passing two miles in compasse.

With Oxfordshire diuerse doo participate, in so much that a peece of Gloucestershire, lieth halfe in Warwikehire & halfe in Oxfordshire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Gloucestershire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a² peece of Worcestershire, directlie betweene it & Gloucestershire. Gloucester hath the third peece vpon the north side of the Winrush neere Falbrocke, as Barkeeshire hath one parcell also vpon the selfe side of the same water, in the verie edge of Gloucestershire: likewise an other in Oxfordshire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer against Lachlade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeeshire, by a little strake of Oxfordshire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wilshire were to be seene in Barkeeshire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like, sith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not presentlie gone thorough with them all, yet these may suffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof most readers (as I persuaide my selfe) are ignorant.

² also

But to proceed with our purpose. Ouer ech of these shires in time of necessitie is a feuerall lieutenant chosen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almost regall authoritie ouer the same for the time being in manie cafes which doo concerne his office: otherwise it is gouerned by a shiriffe [(a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whose office is to gather vp and bring his accounts into the excheker, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæstor comitatus* or *Prouinciæ*. This officer] is¹ resident and dwelling somewhere within the same countie,² and called also² a vicount, [*Quasi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*,] in respect of the earle (or as they called him in time past the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be seldome seene in England, that the earle hath anie great store of possessions, or oughts to doo in the shire³ whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his personall resiance, if he happen to dwell and be resident in the same.

County-officers:

*Lieutenants.**Sheriffes.*

The Sheriff
lives in his
shire, and is
calld a Vis-
count.

In the election also of these magistrates, diuerse able persons aswell for wealth as wisdom are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choise, whose names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith pricketh some such one of them, as he pleaseth to assigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is shiriffe of that shire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be chosen. The shiriffe also hath his vnder shiriffe, that ruleth & holdeth the shire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon sufficient caution vnto the high shiriffe for his true execution of iustice, [preferuation from impeachment,] and yeelding of accompt when he shall be therevnto called. There are likewise vnder him certeine bailiffes, whose office is to serue and returne such writs and processses as are directed vnto them from

Out of a list
namd by the
Commons,
the Sovereign
pricks the
Sheriffs.

Undersheriffes.

who hold the
shire-courts
and law-daies.

Bailiffes.

¹ who is ²⁻³ whom they call ³ County

Duties of
County-Balliffs.

the high shiriffe: to make seifure of the goods and cat-
tels, and arrest the bodies, of such as doo offend, pre-
senting either their persons vnto him, or at the leastwise
taking sufficient bond, or other assurance of them for
their dutifull¹ appearance at an appointed time, when
the shiriffe by order of law ought to present them to the

High constables.

iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred also
are one or more high constables according to the quan-
tity² thereof,² who receiuing [the] writs and iniunctions

Their duties.

from the high shiriffe vnder his seale, [or from anie other
officers of the prince, either for the prouision of vittels
or for other causes, or priuat purueiance of cates for the
maintenance of the roiall familie] doo forthwith charge

Petrie constables.

the petie constables of euerie towne within their limits,
with the execution of the same.

Shire law-days.

In each countie likewise are fundrie law daies
holden at their appointed seasons, of which some retaine

Motelagh.

the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, [of the
word motes and law.] They haue also an other called

Shiriffes turne.

the shiriffes turne, which they hold twise in their times,
in euerie hundred, [according to the old order appointed
by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote
ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the first
of Maie, vtill the first of euerie moneth)] and in these

A court in which
poor folks' small
matters are
heard.

Quarter-
Sessions.

two latter such small matters as oft arise amongst the
inferior sort of people, are heard and well determined.

They haue finallie their quarter sessions, wherein they
are assisted by the iustices and gentlemen of the

*Gaile delinerie or
great assises.*

countrie, & twise in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which
time the iudges ride about in their circuits, into euerie

when the
Judges go
circuit, and
the gentry and
iustices accom-
pany them.

seuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen
with the iustices there resiant associat them) & minister

the lawes of the realme, with great solemnitie & iustice.

Howbeit, in dooing of these things, they reteine still the
old order of the land in vse before the conquest. For

they commit the full examination of all causes there to

¹ due

² of the same

be heard, to the consideration of twelue sober, graue, and wise men, chofen out of the same countie: [and foure of them of neceffitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth] (which number they call an inquest) & of these inquests there are more or lesse impaneled at euerie assise, as the number of cases there to be handled dooth craue and require, albeit that some one inquest hath often diuerse [matters] to consider of. And when they haue (to their vttermoſt power) consulted and debated of such things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iustice, with their verdict in writing, according wherevnto the iudge dooth pronounce his sentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what soeuer is brought before him. [It is also verie often seene, that such as are nominated to be of these inquests, doo, after their charge receiued, seldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yeelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof sometimes it commeth to passe that diuerse of the inquest haue beene welneere famished, or at least taken such a sicknesse thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practise, when the one side feareth the sequele, and therefore conueieth some one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yeeld vnto the rest, but of set purpose put them to this trouble.

All causes are tried by a jury of 12, of whom 4 must be of the defendant's hundred.

These juries are calld

Inquests.

When the inquests end their inquiry,

they give their verdict in writing, and the Judge pronounces sentence.

The jurors mayn't eat or drink till they've given their verdict,

and some get nearly starvd, or ill,

when one or more partisans have been put in the inquest.

Certes it is a common practise (if the vnder shiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or stronger side to procure and packe such a quest, as he himselfe shall like of, whereby he is sure of the issue before the charge be giuen: and beside this, if the matter doo iustlie proceed against him, it is a world to see now and then how the honest yeomen that haue *Bona fide* discharged their consciences shall be sued of an attainct, & bound to appeere at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they shall be caried from place to ¹place, countie to countie, [Attainct.]

[¹ p. 156]

Great abuses
in the Inquest
or Jury system.

Rich men bribe
the Bailiffs to
let them off,
and make poor
men serve on
juries.

And now
there's so
much to do,
for the lawyers
have so increast,

that 100 Nisi
Prius cases,
and 1 or 2
attaints, often
have to be
heard.

Coroners,

and their duties.

*Justices of peace
& quorum.*
Gentlemen
having above
£20 a year.

yea and sometime in carts, which hath and dooth cause a great number of them to absteyne from the assises, & yeld to paie their issues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus disturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes also they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, whervpon poore men, not hauing in their purses wherewith to beare their costes, are impanelled vpon iuries, who verie often haue neither reason nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of seruice at anie time halfe so painefull as at this present: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and attorneies hath so exceedinglie increased, that some shifts must needs be found and matters fought out, whereby they may be set on worke) a man should not haue heard at one assise of more than two or three *Nisi prius*, but verie seldome of an atteinct, wheras now an hundred & more of the first and one or two of the later are verie often perceiued, and some of them for a cause arising of six pence or tweluepence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue beene in time past, and readier to reuenge their quarels of small importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpose, from whence I haue now digressed.]

Beside these officers afore mentioned, there are fundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whose dutie is to inquire of such as come to their death by violence, to attach & present the ples of the crowne, to make inquire of treasure found, &c. There are diuerse also of the best learned of the law, beside fundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will¹ not suffice (and whose reuenues doo amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by especiall commission from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir subiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of these the least skilfull in the law

¹ doe

are of the peace, the other both of the peace and *quorum*, otherwise called of Oier and Determiner, so that the first haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine such matters as are brought vnto their prefence. These also doo direct their warrants to the keepers of the gailes within¹ their limitations, for the safe keeping of such offenders as they shall iudge worthie to [commit vnto their custodie there to] be kept vnder ward, vntill the great assises, to the end their causes may be further examined before the residue of the countie, & these officers were first deuised about² the eightene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue bene informed.

The most skilful are of the Quorum.

Justices of the Peace can only hear causes: those of the Quorum can determine them too.

Justices first appointed about 1344 A.D.

They meeting³ also & together with the shiriffes, doo hold their [aforesaid] sessions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter sessions, and herein they inquire of [fundrie trespasses, and] the common annoyances of the kings liege people, and⁴ diuerse other things,⁴ determining vpon them as iustice dooth require. There are also a third kind of sessions holden by the high constables and bailiffes afore mentioned, called petie sessions, wherein the weights and measures are perused by the clarke of the market for the countie, who sitteth with them. At these meetings also vittellers, and in like sort seruants labourers, rogues, and runnagates, are often reformed for their excesses, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare⁵ be referred to the quarter sessions or higher courts of assise, where they are⁶ iudged either⁶ to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not since their second apprehension applied themselues to labour, [or else to be set perpetuallie to worke in an house erected in euerie shire for that purpose, of which punishment they stand in greatest feare.

The Justices and Sheriffs hold

Quarter sessions.

High Constables and Bailiffs hold

Petie sessions.

to punish victuallers, labourers, rogues, &c.

Vagabonds can only be burnt through the ear (under 14 Eliz. cap. 5), put to death, or sent to the Work-house (under 18 Eliz. cap. 3, A.D. 1575-6); which they dread, by higher courts.

I might here deliuer a discourse of fundrie rare

¹ which in

² in

³ meete

⁴—⁴ sundrie other trespasses

⁵ eares

⁶—⁶ adjudged also

Courts Baron.

Some of the customs of Courts Baron are beastly,—first devised by bad women in contempt of their tenants,—but now turned into money rents.

No custom is more absurd than that of King's Hill in Rochford, Essex.

The tenants being in an alehouse, the Steward holds his court on King's hill;

and if the tenants can't rush up to him when he calls their names they get fined. (See Blount's Tenures, p. 260, ed. 1874.)

This is because the Raleigh tenants once rebelled against their lord. (See Camden's Description of Essex.)

[customs and courts, surnamed barons, yet maintained and holden in England: but forso much as some of the first are beastlie, and therefore by the lords of the soiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the most part deuised in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in meere contempt and flauish abuse of their tenants, vnder pretense of some punishment due for their excesses, I passe ouer to bring them vnto light, as also the remembrance of fundrie courts baron likewise holden in strange maner; yet none more absurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therefore may well be called a lawlesse court, as most are that were deuised vpon such occasions. This court is kept vpon wednesdaie insuing after Michaelmasse daie after midnight, so that it is begun and ended before the rising of the sunne. When the tenants also are altogether in an alehouse, the steward secretlie stealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where sitting on a molehill he calleth them with a verie soft voice, writing their appeerance vpon a peece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is inclosed in the lanterne: so soone as the tenants also doo misse the steward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there answer all at once, "Here here," wherby they escape their amercements: which they should not doo if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had missed him in the alehouse. And this is the verie forme of the court deuised at the first (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie against their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their disobedience shewed. I could beside this speake also of some other, but sith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatise, I thinke it sufficient for me to haue said so much of both.]

And thus much haue I thought good to set downe

generallie of the said counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in so perfect order as the cause requireth, bicause that of all the rest there is nothing wherewith I am lesse acquainted than with our temporall regiment, which (to saie truth) smallie concerneth my calling. [What else is to be added after the feuerall shires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuision of the land in the time of *Ptolomie* and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I referue vnto that excellent treatise of my freend *W. Camden*, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whose worke written in Latine shall in short time (I hope) be published, to the no small benefit of such as will read and peruse the same.]

For other
county par-
ticulars, see

my friend
Camden's
forthcoming
'*Britannia*.
(publ. 1586.)

Of degrees of people in the common- wealth of England.

Chap. 5.¹

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure forts, as gentlemen,² citizens or burgeses, yeomen, and³ artificers, or laborers. Of gentlemen the first and cheefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marquesses, earls,

Four sorts:
1. Gentlemen.
2. Citizens.
3. Yeomen.
4. Artificers or
Labourers.

¹ In the 1577 ed. this chapter is the 4th of the Third Book.—F

² See "*The English Courtier, and the Countrey-gentleman: A pleasaunt and learned Disputation betweene them both: very profitable and necessarie to be read of all Nobilitie and Gentlemen. Wherein is discoursed, what order of lyfe best beseemeth a Gentleman, (aswell for education as the course of his whole life) to make him a person fitte for the publique seruice of his Prince and Countrey,*" 1586; and "*The Court and Countrey, or A brieue Discourse Dialogue-wise set downe betweene a Courtier and a Countrey-man. Contayning the manner and condition of their liues, with many Delectable and Pithy Sayings worthy obseruation. Also, necessary Notes for a Courtier. Written by N. B. Gent. [Nicholas Breton], 1618.*" Both reprinted in Mr W. C. Hazlitt's Roxburghe Library: '*Ined. Tracts,*' 1868.—F. ³ for 'and', ed. 1586 reads wrongly 'which are.'—F.

Lords and
Noblemen,

Knights,
Esquires,
Gentlemen.

Prince.

[² p. 157]

The title
belongs only
to the King's
eldest son,
the Prince of
Wales.

His younger
sons are only
gentlemen till
they're created
nobles; they are
call'd Lord
Henry, Lord
Edward, &c.

Duke.

formerly a
name of military
office,

but now only
of honour.

Marquesse.

viscounts, and barons: and these are called 'gentlemen of the greater sort, or (as our common vsage of speech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, esquiers, and last of all they that are simplie called gentlemen; so that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapter I will make particular rehearfall.¹

² The title of prince dooth peculiarlie belong [with vs] to the kings eldest sonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldest sonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie *Monfieur*. So that the prince is so termed of the Latine word ³ *Princeps*, fith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king.³ The kings yoonger sonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation [or donation from their father] of higher estate, [as] to be either viscounts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie assigned to the king and prince, and [now also] by custome conueied to dukes, [archbishops, and (as some saie) to] marqueffes and their wiues.

The title of duke commeth also of the Latine word *Dux, à ducendo*, bicause of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times past a name of office due to the [emperour, confull, or] cheefe gouernour of the whole armie in the [Romane] warres: but now a name of honor, [although perished in England, whose ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time past, or as there be now earles, I doo not thinke but that they would florish and prosper well inough.]

In old time he onelie was called marqueffe, *Qui*

¹—¹ the Nobilitie, they are also named Lodes and noble men, and next to them be Knightes and Esquires, and simple gentlemen.

²—³ quia est principalis post Regem.

habuit terram limitaneam, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, [and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers.] But that also is changed in common vse, and reputed for a name of great honor next [vnto] the duke, euen ouer counties, and sometimes small cities, as the prince is pleased to bestow it.

A Marquess formerly had a frontier province, which he defended.

The name of earle likewise was among the Romans *Earle.* a name of office, who had *Comites sacri palatij*, *comites ærarij*, *comites stabuli*, [*comites patrimonij*, *largitionum*, *scholarum*, *commerciorum*,] and such like. ¹ But at the

first they were called *Comites*, which were ioined in commission with the proconfull, legate, or iudges for counsell and aids sake in each of those seuerall charges.

The Roman 'Comites.'

As *Cicero epistola ad Quintum fratrem* remembreth, where he saith; *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipsa respublica duntaxat finibus his præstabis, quos ante præscripsi, &c.*

After this I read also that euerie president in his charge was called *Comes*, but our English Saxons vsed the word Hertoch and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I gesse, sith the name of duke was not in vse before the conquest. *Goropius* saith, that *Comes* and Graue is all one, to wit ¹ the viscont, called either *Procomes*, or *Viccomes*: and ² in time past gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but ³ now without anie such seruice or office, it ⁴ is also ⁴ become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degree before the baron. [His releefe also by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight fwe at the most for euerie fee.]

Our English Saxons us'd Hertoch or Earle for 'Comes.'

Viscont.

does not now rule a county under its Earle.

The baron [whose degree answered to the dignitie *Baron.* of a senator in Rome,] is such a free lord as hath a lord-

¹—¹ howbeit it appeareth that with us it hath the next place to ye Marquise, and he that beareth it is called peradventure Comes à comitua, quia dignus est ducere comituum in bello. Or else because he is Comes Ducis a companion of the Duke in the warres. And he hath his follower

² who in

³ and

⁴—⁴ also is

Of the Baron,
held knights or
freeholders,
doing war-
service.

The derivation
of 'Baron.'

Most likely
Baro = Filius.

The King's sons
were the first
Barons.

The common
sort call their
children
'barnes,' usually
in the North,
sometimes in
the South.

ship or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & ¹ hath diuerse knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did ¹ serue the king in his ² wars, and held their tenures ³ in *Baronia*, ⁴ that is, for performance of ⁴ such seruice. These *Braeton* (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth *Barones, quasi robur belli*. The word *Baro* [indeed] is older than that it may easilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldest histories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, [written since the conquest,] we read of barons, and those are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, [or Freiherhs in the Germane toong] as some men doo coniecture, [or (as one saith) the citizens and burgeses of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Neuerthelesse by diligent inquisition it is imagined, if not absolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; so that the kings children are properlie called *Barones*, from whence also it was first translated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greatest honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* signifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be seene, although with some corruption: for to this daie, euen the common sort doo call their male children 'barnes' here in England, especiallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accustomed in vse. And it is also growne into a prouerbe in the south, when anie man fusteineth a great hinderance, to saie, "I am beggered, and all my barnes." In the Hebrue toong (as some affirme) it signifieth *Filij solis*: and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but *Filij* or *serui regum*? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from hensefoorth the originall of the word *Baro* shall not be anie more to seeke: and the first time that euer I red thereof in anie English historie, is in the

¹—¹ holding of him diuers knightes & free holders: who were wont to

² the

³ landes

—⁴ for doing

reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a councell holden at Cirnecester, by that name, 1030, as I haue else-where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* dooth not alwaies signifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the exchequer is of custome called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts next vnto the lord tresuror, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ærarij, & rationales*. Hervnto I may ad so much of the word lord, which is an addition going not feldome and in like fort with fundrie offices, and to continue so long as he or they doo execute the same, and no longer.]

'Baro' first us'd
A.D. 1030

Lord Chief
Baron of the
Exchequer.

'Lord' is a title
held only during
office.

Vnto this place I also referre our bishops, who are accounted honourable, [called lords, and hold the same roome in the parlement house with the barons, albeit for honour sake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them,] and whose countenances in time past were¹ much more glorious than at this present it is, bicause those lustie prelates fought after earthlie estimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the lost sheepe of Christ,² of which³ they had small regard, as men being otherwise occupied and void of leifure to attend vpon⁴ the same. Howbeit in these daies their estate remaineth⁴ no lesse reuerend than⁴ before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they esteemed with high and low. [They reteine also the ancient name (lord) still, although it be not a little⁵ impugned by such as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no superiours. For notwithstanding it be true, that in respect of function, the office of the eldership is equallie distributed betweene the bishop and the minister, yet for ciuill

Bishops.

are calld Lords,
and sit in the
House of
Lords.

The more ver-
tuous they are,
the better are
they esteemd.

(A cut at Dis-
senters.)

[1. Sam. b. 15.
1. Reg. 4. 7.]

¹ was ²—³ whereof ³ unto ⁴—⁴ still honourable as ⁵ orig. little

A defence of
Bishops and
Uniformity

against the
Calvinists, &c.

You can't make
a perfect
Church.

[¹ p. 158]

The Clergy are
now lov'd for
their hard work,

except by some
hungry-belli'd
patrons,

who always ask

vnto them by kings and princes, to the end that the reft maie thereby be with more eafe retained within a limited compaffe of vniformitie, than otherwise they would be, if ech one were suffered to walke in his owne courfe. This alfo is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their eftate, crieng to haue the word lord abolifhed, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the present condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to faie trulie, few of them doo agree vpon forme of discipline and gouernement of the church fuccedent: wherein they refemble the Capuans, of whome *Liui*e dooth fpeake, in the slaughter of their fenat. Neither is it poffible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one ¹ towne or citie, or to firre vp fuch an exquisite face of the church as we imagine or defire, fith our corruption is fuch that it will neuer yeeld to fo great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat houle, will much leffe be brought to paffe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before fuch a prince be found as *Xenophon* defcribeth, or fuch an orator as *Tullie* hath deuifed. But whither am I digreffed from my difcourfe of bishops, whose eftates doo daily decaie, & fuffer fome diminution?] Herein neuertheleffe ² their cafe is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times past the cleargie men were feared bicaufe of their authoritie and feuerer gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie ³ for their painefull diligence [dailie] shewed in their [functions and] callings, ⁴except peradventure of fome hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & fnatch at the loofe ends of their beft commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guife, when a man is to be preferred to an ecclesiasticall liuing, what part

² therefore

³ (except peradventure of a few hungrie wolves that couet to pluck and snatch at their lose endes)

⁴ and vertuous conversation

thereof he will first forgo and part with to their vse.⁴ Finallie, how it standeth with the rest of the clergie [for their places of estate,] I neither can tell, nor greatlie care to know. Neuerthelesse, with what degrees of honour and worship they haue beene matched in times past, *Iohannes Bohemus* in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others doo expresse; [and this also found beside their reports, that in time past, euerie bishop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in most statutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie also appeare in the great charter, and fundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of.] But as a number of ¹ their odious ¹ comparifons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie shroonke in the wetting, so giuing ouer in these daies to mainteine such pompous vanitie, they [doo] thinke it sufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their fees [(so long as they shall be able)] from the hands of such as indeuour [for their owne preferment] to [fleece and] diminish ² the same.² This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege ³ reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the most learned diuines, [although they like not anie thing at all of their religion:] and thereto [they are in deed] so skilfull in the two principall toongs, that it is accounted a maim in anie one of them, not to be exactlie seene in the Greeke and Hebrue, much more then to be vtterlie ignorant or nothing conuerfant in them. As for the Latine toong it is not wanting in anie [of the ministerie], especiallie in such as haue beene made within this twelue or fourteene yeares, whereas before there was small choise, and manie cures were left vnserued, bicause they had none at all. [And to saie truth, our aduerfaries were the onelie causers hereof. For whilest they made no

what the man
they present 'll
give up to them.

[*De Asia, cap.
12.*]

In old times
Bishops and
Abbots took
precedence of
Earls and
Barons.

But now the
Clergy are con-
tent to preach
God's word,
and fight for
their livings
against plunder-
ers.

Our Clergy
are held by
foreigners as the
most learned
diuines.

Almost all
know Greeke
and Hebrew,

[*No Greeke,
no grace.*]

and every one
knows Latin:
at least, those
appointed since
1563 or 1565.

¹—¹ these

²—² them

³ learning

[*Bene con, bene can, bene le.*] (This in my copy, but not in Brit. Mus. copy, of 1586 ed.)
 Ignorance of the clergy in Mary's and Hen. VIII.'s days.

further accompt of their priesthood, than to conftrue, fing, read their seruice and their portesse, it came to passe that vpon examination had, few made in queene Mariés daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to doo¹ anie more, and verie hardlie so much, so void were they of further skill, and so vnapt to serue at all.]

Duke, (marquess, earle, viscont.)

Dukes, marquesses, earles, viscounts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldest sonnes or highest in succession to their parents. For the eldest sonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldest sonne of an erle is a baron, or sometimes a viscont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the original donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for² good seruice doone by the first ancestor, with some aduancement, which, with the title of that honour, is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The rest of the sonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but esquiers: yet in common speech all dukes and marquesses sonnes, and earles eldest sonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie dooth agree to none of lower degree than barons, yet by law and vse these be not esteemed barons.

Younger sons of nobles are only 'esquires,' yet all but Viscounts and Barons' sons are by courtesy calld 'lords.'

[*Barons.*]

The baronie or degree of lords dooth answer to the degree of senators of Rome [(as I said)] and the title of nobilitie (as we vse to call it in England) to the Roman *Patricij*. Also in England no man is [commonlie] created baron, except he maie dispend of yearelie reuenues [a thousand pounds, or] so much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But viscounts, erles, marquesses, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degree & honour. But though by chance he or his sonne haue lesse, yet he keepeth this degree: but if the decaie be exceffiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as

English ones must have £1000 a year.

Baron is the lowest rank of nobles.

¹ orig. (my copy, but not Brit. Mus. one) to doo ² for the

Senatores Romani were ¹ *amoti à senatu*¹: so sometimes they are not admitted to the vpper house in the parlement although they keepe the name of lord still, which can not be taken from them vpon anie such occasion. [The most of these names haue descended from the French inuention, in whose histories we shall read of them eight hundred yeares passed.

This also is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the first emperour of that name, indeuouring to repaire the decaied estate of Italie vnto some part of hir pristinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates* & *prædia* to such knights and souldiers as had serued him in the warres, whom he also adorned with the names of dukes, marquesses, earles, valuasors or capteins, and valuasines.

His *Prædia* in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, stackage, coinage, profits by salt-pits, milles, water-courfes (and whatsoeuer emoluments grew by them) & such like. But at that present I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into those parts. And as for the valuasors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrees of honor vnder the first three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) so that they are called *Maiores*, *minores*, & *minimi valuasores*. This also is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the possessor therof hath it from the prince, or from some duke, marquess, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valuasores*, if from anie of his three peeres, then were they *Minores valuasores*: but if anie of these *Valuasors* doo substitute a deputie, those are called *Minimi valuasores*, and their deputies also *Valuasini*, without regard vnto which degree the valuasor dooth appertene: but the word *Valuasor* is now growne out of vse, wherefore it sufficeth to haue said thus much of that function.]

[Of the second degree of gentlemen.]

[*Prædia*.]

There are

3 kinds of Valuasors or under-vassals: greater, less, and least.

[*Valuasores*.]

The deputies of the least are Valuasines.

'Valuasor' is gone out of use.

¹—¹ moti Senatu

8

HARRISON.

Knights
are made, not
born.

[*Milites.*]

Equites aurati.

[^a p. 159]

Some gentle-
men, tho' calld,
refuse to be
Knights, and
pay a fine for it.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by succession, no, not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduventure & trie their manhood: or after [the battell ended,] as an aduancement for their courage and prowesse alreadie shewed [& then are they called *Milites* ;)] or out of the warres for some great seruice doone, or for the singular vertues which doo appeare in them, [and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common custome intendeth.] They are made either by the king himselfe, or by his commission and roiall authoritie giuen for the same purpose: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order seemeth to answer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were chosen *Ex censu*, that is, according to their substance and riches; so be knights in England most commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or ¹abundance of ¹riches, wherewith to mainteine their ²estates. Yet all ³that had *Equestrem censum*, were not chosen to be knights, [and] no more be all made knights in England that may spend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. [Sometime diuerse ancient gentlemen, burgesse, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and neuerthelesse refuse to take that state vpon them, for which they are of custome punished by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and to saie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwise their seruice should be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this also is a cause, wherfore there be manie in England able to dispend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne consents.] The number of the knights in Rome was [also] vncertaine: and so is it of knights [likewise] with vs, as at the pleasure of the prince. [And whereas the *Equites*

¹—¹ substance and

² the

Romani had *Equum pullicum* of custome bestowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not so, but beare their owne charges in that also, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie meet for their defense and seruice. This neuerthelesse is certeine, that who so may dispend 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwise paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and so for a time be acquitted of that title.] We name¹ him knight in English that the French calleth *Cheualier*, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equestris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is striken of the king² or his substitute with his sword naked vpon the [backe or] shoulder, the prince, &c: saieng, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riseth vp the king³ saith *Aduances bon cheualier*. This is the maner of dubbing knights at this present, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpose and not creation, [howbeit in our time the word (making) is most in vse among the common sort.]

English Knights pay for their own horses and armour.

Any freeholder worth £40 a year in land may be forc't to become a Knight or pay £40.

The manner of dubbing^a a Knight.

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be [other] knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called "knights of the bath." But how soeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, so well as the barons wife; he himselfe hauing added to his name in common appellation this syllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights⁴ in England. [His wife also of courtesie so long as she liueth is called my ladie, although she happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the common law she hath no such prerogatiue. If hir first husband also be of better birth than hir second, though this later

Knights of the bath.

A Knight's wife is call'd 'Madam or Lady,' and he 'Sir.'

She keeps her title, by court-esy, tho' she marries a commoner.

¹ We call ² the Prince ³ the Prince ⁴ knights here

likewise be a knight, yet in that one pretendeth a priuilege to loofe no honor through courtesie yeilded to hir sex, she will be named after the most honorable or worshipfull of both, which is not seene elsewhere.]

*Knights of the
garter.*

Edward III.

invented this
Society, and
chose for it the
best Knights of
all Christendom.

The King or
Queen is head of
the Order,

and it has 26
brethren.

[*Round table.*]

The other order of knighthood in England, and the most honorable is that of the garter, instituted by king Edward the third, who—after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king John of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both prisoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Castile the bastard out of his realme, and restored *Don Petro* vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldest sonne called the Blacke prince) he—then inuented this societie of honour, and made a choise out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all christendome of the best, most excellent and renowned persons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that¹ title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garnished with gold and pretious stones, to weare dailie on the left leg onlie: also a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other solemne and magnificent apparell, both of stufte and fashion exquisite & heroicall to weare at high feasts, [&] as to so high and princelie an order apperteineth. Of this companie also he and his successors, kings and queenes of England, be the souereignes, and the rest by certeine statutes and lawes amongst themselues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of six and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatise written of the fame, an example whereof I haue here inserted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

I might at this present make a long tractation of the round table, and estate² of the knights thereof, erected sometimes by Arthur the great monarch of

¹ yt

² order

this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in so dooing that I should rather set downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true description of such ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie describe the roialtie of Charles the great & his twelue peeres, with their solemne rites and vsages: but vnto this also I haue no great deuotion, considering the truth hereof is now so stained with errours and fables inferted into the same by the lewd religious sort, that except a man should professe to lie with them for companie, there is little found knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerse aswell subiects as princes haue attempted to restore againe a round table in this land [(as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth)] but such were the excessiue charges appertaining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and so great molestation dailie infused therevpon, beside the breeding of fundrie quarrels among the knights, and such as reforted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was first vsed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and suffered their whole inuentions to perish and decaie, till ¹ Edward the third deuised an other order not so much pestered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as shall appeare hereafter.

The order of the garter therefore was deuised in the time of king Edward the third, and (as some write) vpon this occasion. The queenes maiestie then liuing, being departed from his presence the next waie toward hir lodging, he following soone after happened to find hir garter, which slacked by chance and so fell from hir leg, [vnefpied in the throng by such as attended vpon hir.] His groomes & gentlemen [also] passed by it,² dif-

I won't describe from fancy the making of King Arthur's Knights,

or the royalty of Charles the Great and his Twelve Peers,

as I should have to lie with 'the lewd religious sort.'

The later Round Table of [Roger Mortimer.]

which led to such nuisances

that it had to be given up.

[The occasion of the devise] of Edward III.'s Order of the Garter.

¹ untill

² it, as

Edward III.'s
founding the
Order of the
Garter.

*Peradventure²
but a blue ribbon*

He held a royal
feast at Wind-
sor.

[¹ p. 160]

The first
Knights of the
Garter

daining to stoope and take vp such a trifle : but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to staie and reach¹ it vp [to him.] " Why, and like your grace (saith a gentleman), it is but some womans garter that hath fallen from hir as she followed the queenes maiestie." " What soeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me." So when he had receiued the garter, he said to such as stood about him : " You my maisters doo make small account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out), but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudest of you all to reuerence the like." And euen vpon this slender occasion he gaue himselfe to the deuising of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had so simple a beginning hath growne in the end to so great honour and estimation. But to proceed. After he had studied awhile about the performance of his deuise, and had set downe such orders as he himselfe³ inuented concerning the same, he proclaimed a roiall feast to be holden at Windfore, whither all his nobilitie reforted with their ladies, where he published his institution, and⁴ forthwith inuested an appointed number into the afore said fellowship, whose names insue, himselfe being the soueraigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himselfe also he placed

Edward prince of
Wales.
Henrie duke of Lan-
caster.
N. earle of Warw.
N. capt. de Bouche.
N. earle of Stafford.
N. earle of Sarum.
N. lord⁵ Mortimer.

Sir Iohn Lisle.
Sir Bartholomew
Burwash.
N. sonne of sir⁶ Iohn
Beauchamp.
Sir N. de Mahun.
S[ir] Hugh Courtneie.
S[ir] Thomas Holland.
S[ir] Iohn Graie.

¹ take

² Peradventure it was

⁵ L.

³ himselfe had

⁶ S.

{ S[ir] Rich. Fitzsimon. S[ir] Miles Stapleton. S[ir] Thomas Wale. S[ir] Hugh Wrotesley. S[ir] Neale Lording. S[ir] Iohn Chandos. S[ir] James Dawdleie. }	{ S[ir] Otho Holland. S[ir] Henrie Eme. Sir Sanchet Dambri- court. Sir Walter Pannell <i>alias</i> Paganell. }	The first Knights of the Garter.
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What order of election, and what estatutes were [Election.]
 prescribed vnto the elected at this first institution, as yet
 I can not exactlie vnderstand; neither can I learne
 what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before
 the six and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight, and
 third of king Edward the sixt: wherefore of necessitie
 I must resort vnto the estate of the said order as it is at
 this present, which I will set downe so brieflie as I may.
 When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a
 roome found void for his admission) into this fellowship,
 the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithstanding
 that he before hand be ¹ nominated to ¹ the same, to this
 effect. "Right trustie and welbeloued, we greete you
 well, assertheining you, that in consideration aswell of
 your approoued truth and fidelitie, as also of your
 couragious and valiant acts of knighthood, with other
 your probable merits knowne by experience in fundrie
 parties and behalves: we, with the companions of the
 noble order of the Garter, assembled at the election
 holden this daie within our manour of N., haue elected
 and chosen you amongst other to be one of the com-
 panions of the said Order, as your deserts doo con-
 dignelie require. Wherefore we will that ² with con-
 uenient diligence vpon the sight herof, you repaire vnto
 our presence, there to receiue such things as to the said
 order apperteineth. Dated vnder our signet at our
 maner of N. &c." ³ These letters [are the exemplification
 of certeine, which] (as it should seeme) were written

The present
 state of the
 Order of the
 Garter.

Before admis-
 sion the King
 by letter notifies
 to the Knight
 Elect

that he has been
 elected into the
 Order,

and appoints a
 place for his
 reception.

¹—¹ nominate unto ² yt ³ Greenwich the 24 of April

King Edward VI.'s summons of Apr. 24, 1549, to Lord Cobham's father.

An. 3. *Edwardi sexti* [at Greenwich *Aprilis 24*] vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordships honorable father, at such time as they were called vnto the aforefaid companie. I find also these names subscribed vnto the same.

Signers of Edward VI.'s summonses.

Edward duke of
Summerfet, vn-
cle to the king.
The marq. of North-
hampton.
Earle of Arundell L.
Chamberleine.
Earle of Shrewes-
burie.

L. Ruffell lord priuie
seale.
L. S. Iohn l[ord] great
mafter.
Sir Iohn Gage.
S. Anthonie Wing-
field.
Sir William Paget.

[*Admission*]
of a Knight of
the Garter.

Being elected, preparation is made for his install-
ing at Windfore (the place appointed alwaies for
this purpose) whereat it is required that his banner be
set vp, of¹ two yardes and a quarter in length, and
three quarters in bredth, besides the fringe. Secondlie
his sword, of whatfoeuer length him seemeth good.
Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwads
ought to be of three inches at the least. Fourthlie the
creft, with mantels to the helme belonging, of such
conuenient stufte and bignesse, as it shall please him to
appoint.

a plate of Armes
at the back of
his stall in the
Chapel

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his stall, and
creft with mantels and beafts supportant, to be grauen
in [the] mettall.

Lodging-
Scutcheons

Item lodging scutcheons of his armes, ²inuiromned
with a ²garter, ³and painted in paper or cloth of buck-
ram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be
fixed in the common Ins where he dooth lodge, as a
testimonie of his presence and staies from time to time
as he did trauell.³

to be fixt in the
Inns at which he
staies.

Two Mantles.

Item two mantels, one to ⁴remaine in the college

¹ at ²⁻³ in the ³⁻³ be occupied by the way ⁴ to the

at Windfore, the other to vse at his pleasure, with the
scutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter
with laces, taffelets, and knops of blue filke and gold
belonging to the fame.

One to be left
at Windsor; the
other us'd by
himself.

Item a furcote or gowne of red or crimosine veluet,
with a whood of the fame, lined with white farcenet or
damaſke.

Surcoat of red
velvet.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold
Troie weight.

Collar of the
Garter.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garnished with
precious ſtones or otherwiſe.

Tablet of St
George.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle
and pendant garnished with gold.

Garter for the
left leg.

Item a booke of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order.

Book of
Statutes.

Item a ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the
garter to ſet vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to
be prouided againſt his inſtallation.

Scutcheon of the
arms of St
George.

When anie knight is to be inſtalled, he hath with
his former letters, a garter ſent vnto him, and when
he commeth to be inſtalled, he is brought into the
chapter houſe, where incontinentlie his commiſſion
is read before the ſouereigne, or his deputie, and the
aſſembly preſent : from hence he is lead by two knights
of the ſaid order, accompanied with the other of the
nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his
mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order,
or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarilie
apperteineth to beare it. This mantell ſhall be deliuered
vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his
ſtall, and not before : which doone, he ſhall returne
vnto the chapter houſe, where the ſouereigne, or his
deputie, ſhall deliuer him his collar, and ſo he ſhall
haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it
is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance
of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be
void, ſo that each one called vnto this knighthood (the
ſouereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes

[Installation.]

From the
Chapter-Houſe

he is led to

St George's
Chapel,

has a
[Mantell]
delivered to
him, takes the
oath, goes back
to the Chapter-
House, and gets
his Collar.

[Stall.]

Each Knight of
the Garter takes
his predecessor's
stall.

alwaies excepted) shall haue the same feat, which became void by the death of his predeceffor, howfoeuer it fall out: wherby a knight onlie oftentimes dooth fit before a duke, without anie murmuring or grudging at his roome, except it please the fouereigne, once in his life [onelic] to make a generall alteration of those feats, and to fet each one according to his degree.

The dress of the
Knights of the
Garter.

Now as touching the apparell of these knights, it remaineth such as king Edward, the first deuifer of this order, left it, that is to saie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to say, scarlet, sanguine in grain, blue and white. In like sort the kings grace hath at his pleasure the content of cloth for his gowne and whood, lined with white fatine or damaske, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The King's
dress.

The prince hath fve yades of cloth for his gowne and whood, and garters with letters of gold at his pleasure, beside fve timber of the finest mineuer.

*A timber con-
taineth fortie
skins, [felles, or
felles.]*

A duke hath fve yades of woollen cloth, fve timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fve yards of woollen cloth, fve timber of mineuer, 110 garters of filke.

An earle fve yades of woollen cloth, fve timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of filke.

[p. 161]

A viscount fve yades of woollen cloth, fve timber of mineuer, 90 garters of filke.

A baron fve yades of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer gresle, 80 garters of filke.

A banneret fve yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 70 garters of filke.

A knight fve yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 60 garters of filke.

The Chaplain's
dress.

The bishop of Winchester chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, nineteene timber³ gr[esle,] three timber and a halfe of

³ timber of

the best, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth. The Order of the Garter.

The chancellor of the order five yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

The register of the order five yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are fix and twentie in number, and whose patrone in time of superstition was supposed to be S. George, of whome they were also called S. Georges knights, as I haue heard reported. [Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by some other name, for the title of faint George argueth a wrong patrone.] The Registrar's dress. St George is a wrong patron for the Order.

Furthermore at his installation he is solemnelie [Installation.] sworn, the maner whereof I haue thought good also to annex, in this maner. "You being chosen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, shall promise and sweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maiestic, and to obserue and keepe all the points of the statutes of the said order, and euerie article in them contained, the same being agreeable and not repugnant to the kings highnesse other godlie proceedings, so far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c." And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premisses. The Oath of a Knight of the Garter.

As touching the estatutes belonging to this order [Estatutes.] they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo arise about the interpretation of them, the king, who is the perpetuall souereigne of that order, hath to determine and resolute the same. Neither are anie chosen therevnto vnder the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentelman of blood and of found estimation.

And for the better vnderstanding what is meant by [Gentleman of blood.] a gentleman of blood, he is defined to descend of three

The Order of
the Garter

descents of noblenesse, that is to saie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.

[*Degrees of
reproch*] that
stop men enter-
ing the Order.

There are also foure degrees of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the first is heresie lawfullie prooued, the second high treason, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall excesse of expenses, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof.

[*Apparell.*]
The Knights
wear the dress
of the Order
when in St
George's Chapel,
or on the busi-
ness of the
Order, and on
St George's Eve,

Moreover, touching the wearing of their aforesaid apparell, it is their custome to weare the same, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter house of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing appertaining to that companie. In like sort they weare also their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the souereigne, or his deputie in the same in maner of procession from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewise backe againe vnto the aforesaid place, not putting it from them, vntill supper be ended, and the auoid doone. The next daie they resort vnto the chappell also in the like order, & from thence vnto diner, wearing afterward their said apparell vnto euen- ing praier, and likewise all the supper time, vntill the auoid be finished. In the solemnitie likewise of these feasts, the thirteene chanons there, and six and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof those for the chanons are of Murraie with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a scutcheon onelie of the said armes.

and St George's
Day.

The 13 Canons
and 26 poor
Knights of St
George's Chapel,
Windsor, haue
mantles of the
Order.

Sicke or absent.

If anie knight of this order be absent from this solemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be present either through bodilie sicknesse, or his absence out of the land: he dooth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable stall for the kings maiestie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of estat,

and cushions, and scutchion of the garter, and therein the armes of the order. Also his owne stall of which side soeuer it be distant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed so nigh as he can, after the maner and situation of his stall at Windfore, there to remaine, the first euening praier on the euen of S. George, or three of the clocke, and likewise the next daie during the time of the diuine seruice, vntill the morning praier, and the rest of the seruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace, without either whood, collar, or surcote.¹ Or if he be so sicke that he doo keepe his bed, he dooth vse to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine seruice aforesaid.

*The Order of the Garter.
A Knight sick or absent on St George's Day*

If he's in bed, his mantle and George are to be laid on him at service-time.

At the seruice time also vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (sauiug the deputie of the souereigne if he himselfe be absent) shall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the sword with the hilts forwards, which being doone, the first two shall returne againe, and offer the helme and creft, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the statutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and assisted with one of the chiefe lords, dooth deliuer at his offering a peece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he so proceedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like solemnitie vnto his stall, and next of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himselfe, whose oblation being made, euerie knight according to their stals, with an herald before him proceedeth to the offering.

*Offering.
in St George's Chapel.*

The Lord Deputy offers a

piece of gold for the King.

What solemnitie is vsed at the buriall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefore I will shew generallie what is doone at the disgrading

Buriall.

¹ surcote

The Order of the
Garter.

of one of these knights, if through anie grievous offense he be separated from this companie. Whereas otherwise the signe of the order is neuer taken from him untill death doo end & finish vp his daies. Therefore when anie such thing¹ is doone, promulgation is made therof after this maner insuing.

Disgrading
of a Knight for
treason.

Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the most noble order of the Garter, is found giltye of the abhominable and detestable crime of high treason, for he hath most traitoroullie conspired against our most high and mightie prince souereigne of the said order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath sworne and taken. For which causes therefore he hath deserued to be depofed from this noble order, and fellowship of the Garter. For

'Tis insufferable
that a traitor
should remain
amongst such
faithful
Knights.

it may not be suffered that such a traitor and disloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowned² stomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes should be mingled with those of noble chiuallrie. Wherefore our most excellent prince and supreme of this³ most honorable³ order, by the aduise and counsell of his colleagues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deserued shall be from hencefoorth [be] taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himfelfe cleane cut off from the societie of this renowned order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the fame, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like trespasse, or fall in⁴ to such notorious infamie⁵ and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there resorteth vnto the partie to be disgraded certeine officers with diuerse of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inuestiture, after a solemne maner.

[⁴p. 162.]

Officers and
Knights so-
lemly take
away his George.
[Cp. Talbot's
tearing the
garter off Fas-
tolfe's leg in
1 Hen. VI. IV. 1.
15.]

And hitherto⁶ of this most honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering

¹ is to be ² noble ³—³ noble
⁵ shame ⁶ thus much

thus much. For sith the noble order of the Toifon Dor or golden fleese, with the ceremonies apperteining vnto the creation and inuestiture of the fix and thirtie knights thereof: and likewise that of saint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are discourfed vpon at large by the historiographers of ¹ their owne ¹ countries, without reprehension or checke, [especiallie by *Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them *Cheualliers sans reproche*, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the least, and honour thereof so great, that it is not lawfull for them to sell, giue, or laie the same to morgage (would to God they might once brooke their name, *Sans reproche*, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not suffer some of the best of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them),] I trust I haue not giuen anie cause of displeasure, briefelie to set forth those things that appertene vnto our renowmed order of the Garter, in whose compasse is written commonlie, * *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, which is so much to saie, as, 'Euill come to him that euill thinketh': a verie sharpe imprecation, and yet such as is not contrarie to the word, which promiseth like meafure to the meter, as he dooth mete to others.

As the ceremonies of the Orders of the Golden Fleeces,

and St Michael, are given by other writers,

I hope I'm justified in giving those of our Order of the Garter.

* Some think that this was the answer of the queene, when the king asked what men would thinke of hir, in losing the garter after such a manner.

There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie ² the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, ³ so that being before but a bachelor knight, he ³ is now of an higher degree, and allowed to displaie his armes in a banner, as barrons doo. Howbeit these knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings standard being vnfolded.

Knights
Bannerets.

are made only
in war-time.

Esquire (which we call commonlie squire) is a French word, and so much in Latine as *Scutiger vel*

Esquire.

¹ those ² of ³—³ He being before a Bachelor knight

Who an Esquire
is.

armiger, and such are all those which beare armes, or armoires, testimonies of their race from whence they be descended. They were at the first costerels or¹ bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being instructed in² martiall knowledge,³ had that name for a dignitie giuen to distinguish them from common fouldiers [called *Gregarij milites*] when they were togither in the field.

Gentlemen.

Gentlemen be those whome their race and blood, [or at the least their vertues] doo³ make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles* & *generosos*, as the French do *Nobles* [or *Gentlehommes*]. The etymologie of the name expoundeth the efficacie of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and surname: so the Romans had *Cornelios*, *Sergios*, *Appios*, [*Curios*, *Papyrios*, *Scipiones*,] *Fabios*, *Æmilios*, *Iulios*, *Brutos*, &c: of which, who were *Agnati*, and therefore kept the name, were also called *Gentiles*, gentlemen of that or that house and race.

We thinke now
only of Norman
ancestors; no-
thing of Saxon;
much loss of
British.

[Moreouer] as the king⁴ dooth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, so gentlemen whose ancestors are not knownen to come in with William duke of Normandie [(for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much lesse of the British issue)] doo take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times. Who soeuer studieth the lawes of the realme, who so⁵ abideth⁵ in the vniuersitie [giuing his mind to his booke,] or professeth physicke and the liberall sciences, or beside his seruice in the roome of a capteine in the warres, [or good counsell giuen at home, whereby his commonwealth is benefited,] can liue⁶ without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he shall [for monie haue a cote and armes bestowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the same doo of custome pretend

*Lawiers stu-
dents in uni-
uersities.*

Physicians.

Capteins.

Any one who
can liue without
hand work, can
be a gentleman,
and buy a coat
of arms,

¹ or the ²—² Armes ³ doth ⁴ King or Queene ⁵ studieth ⁶ ydely and

antiquitie and seruice, and manie gaie things) and therevnto being made so good cheape] be called master, which is the title that men giue to esquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman [euer after.] Which is so much the lesse to be disallowed of, for¹ that the prince dooth loofe nothing by it, the gentleman being so much subiect to taxes and publike paiments as is the yeoman or husbandman, which he likewise² dooth beare the gladlier for the sauing of his reputation. Being called [also] to the warres [(for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle)] what soeuer it cost him, he will both arraie & arme himselfe accordinglie, and shew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the person which he representeth. No man hath hurt by it but himselfe, who peraduenture will [go in wider buskens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe faith,] now and then beare a bigger faile than his boat is able to susteine.

and be call'd
'Master,' and
reputed a gen-
tleman.

The gentleman,
when call'd to
the wars, pays
for his own out-
fit.

His title hurts
no one but him-
self.

[Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great strife sometimes amongst the Romans, I meane when those which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie seene and shewed, than the old smell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardise & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iustice and equitie, so it forceth not what language the malicious doo giue out, against such as are exalted for their wisdomes. This neuerthelesse is generallie to be reprehended in all estates of gentilitie, and which in short time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is, the vsuall sending of noble- mens & meane gentlemens sonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheisme, infidelitie, vicious conuersation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to passe that they re- turne far worse men than they went out. A gentle-

Yet our nobles
and gentles do
foollahly in
sending their

sons into Italy,
whence they
bring home
Atheism, Vice,
and Pride.

¹ as² also

Disgraceful
opinions of Ital-
ianate English-
men :
' Keep faith only
when you'll not
lose by it :

Forgive when
you're revengd :

Believe no re-
ligion :

A martyr's a
fool :

Never mind
God : obey the
King :

These Italian-
ates too keep
Pages for
sodomy.

*Citizens (and
burgesses.)*

[¹ p. 163]

have little
power in
counties.

man at this present is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earnest protestant, but comming home he could saie after this maner: "Faith & truth is to be kept, where no losse or hinderance of a further purpose is susteined by holding of the same; and forgiuenesse onelie to be shewed when full reuenge is made." Another no lesse forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; "He is a foole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more foole that will loose anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for constant leaning to anie: but if he yeeld to loose his life for his possession, he is stark mad, and worthie to be taken for most foole of all the rest." This gaie bootie gate these gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may see what fruit is afterward to be looked for where such blossoms doo appeere. "I care not (faith a third) what you talke to me of God, so as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my side." Such men as this last, are easlie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe also in England, with pages at their heeles finelie apparelled, whose face and countenance shall be such as sheweth the master not to be blind in his choise. But least I should offend too much, I passe ouer to saie anie more of these Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifest to the world, and yet not called into question.]

Citizens and burgessees haue next place to gentlemen, who be those that are free within the cities, and are of some [likelie] substance to beare office in the same. But these citizens or burgessees are to serue ¹ the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common assemblie of the realme ² wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little swaie (which assemblie is ³ called the [high court of] par-

³ to make lawes

lement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgesſes to haue voices in it, and ¹ giue their conſent or diſſent vnto ſuch things as paſſe or ſtaie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

Ancient Cities
haue 4 M.P.s;
Boroughs, 2.

In this place alſo are our merchants to be inſtalled, as amongſt the citizens [(although they often change eſtate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conuerſion of the one into the other)] whoſe number is ſo increaſed in theſe our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cauſe of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwiſe when euerie² nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifulle to be had. [Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great tranſportation of them into other countries, I ſpeake not, ſith the matter will eaſilie bewraie it ſelfe. Certes] among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the ſtate of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wiſhed that the [buge] heape of them were ſomewhat reſtreined, [as alſo of our lawiers] ſo ſhould the reſt liue more eaſilie vpon their owne, and few honeſt chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankrupt. I doo not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part maintained by their traffike, and ſo are the high prices of wares³ kept vp, now they haue gotten the onelie ſale of things, [vpon pretenſe of better furtherance of the common-wealth] into their [owne] hands: whereas in times paſt when the ſtrange bottoms were ſuffered to come in, we had ſugar for foure pence the pound, that now [at the writing of this treatiſe] is [well] worth halfe a crowne, raiſons⁴ or corints⁴ for a penie that now are holden at fix pence, and ſometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an

Merchants.

are greatly in-
creaſt of late.

And yet too
many of them,
and of lawiers,
are but a clog on
the common-
wealth.

Merchants keep
up prices.

In Free-Trade
days ſugar was
6d. a pound.

Now it's 2s. 6d. :

raiſins were 1d. ;
and are now 6d.
to 10d.

¹ and to

² each

³ things

⁴ of Corinth

How Merchants
have raised the
prices of gro-
ceries.

The wares they
export from
England.

And not content
with their old
European trade,

they now go to
the Indies,

China, Tartary,
&c.

But prices keep
up.

And every trade
strives to get all
profit for itself.

Yeomen.

ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding : great raifons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and fixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may fee the fequele of things not alwaies [but verie ſeldome] to be ſuch as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the moſt part brode clothes and carries of all colours, likewiſe cottons, freeſes, rugs, tin, wooll, [our beſt beere, baies, buſtian, mockadoes tufted and plaine, rafh,] lead, fells, &c : which being ſhipped at fundrie ports of our coaſts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie : to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times paſt their¹ cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danſke, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iſeland onelie : now² in theſe daies, as men not contented with theſe³ iournies, they haue fought out the eaſt and weſt Indies, and made [now and then ſuſpicious] voiaiges, not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewiſe into Cathaia, Moſcouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they ſaie⁴) they bring home great commodities. ⁵ [But alas I ſee not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for ſo I doo account of it) was ſufficientlie provided for, *An. 9 Edward 3.* by a noble eſtatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occaſion the generall execution thereof is ſtaied or not called on, in good footh I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and ſeuerall vocation ſtriueth with other, which of them ſhould haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne ceſterne.]

Yeomen⁶ are thoſe, which by our⁷ law⁷ are called

¹ our

² ſo

³ thoſe

⁴ pretende

⁵ (ſide note) Not ſene in a batement of price of thinges

⁶ Our Yeomen

⁷—⁷ lawyers

Legales homines, free men borne English,¹ and may dispend of their owne free land in yearelie reuenue, to the summe of fortie shillings sterling, [or six pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by *Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20.* that they are the same which the French men call varlets, but as that phraze is vsed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be so. The truth is that the word is deriued from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which signifieth (as I haue read) a settled or staid man, such I meane as being married and of some yeares, betaketh himselfe to staie in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himselfe and his familie, whereof the single sort haue no regard, but are likelie to be still fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of stabilitie in determination and resolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance.] This sort of people haue a certeine preheminance, and more estimation than labourers & [the common sort of] artificers, & [these] commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houses, and trauell to get riches. They are also for the most part farmers to gentlemen [(in old time called *Pagani*, & *opponuntur militibus*, and therefore *Perfius* calleth himselfe *Semipaganus*) or at the leastwise artificers,] & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of seruants (not idle seruants as the gentlemen doo,² but such as get both their owne and part of their masters liuing) do come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwise leauing them sufficient lands wherevpon they may liue without labour, doo make them³ by those⁴ means to become gentlemen: these were they that in times past made all France afraid. [And albeit they be not called master as gentlemen are, or sir as to knights apperteineth,

Yeomen are
freemen worth
2s a year in
land.

Yeoman means

a settl'd or staid
man, marri'd,

and not fleeting.

Yeomen live

well, and work.

They're
farmers:

and by grasing
and work

buy poor gentle-
men's lands,
educate their
sons for
professions, or
leave them
money to
become gentle-
men.
Those men made
France afraid.

¹ orig. English ² doth ³ their sayde sonnes ⁴ that

Yeomen are not
call'd Master,
but John,
Thomas, &c.
[*Englishmen on
foot and French-
men on horse-
backe best.*]

but onelie John and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue doone verie good seruice:] and the kings of England in foughten battels, were woont to remaine among them¹ (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongst their horffemen: the prince thereby shewing where his chiefe strength did confist.

[*Capite ceusi
or Proletarij*]

Day labourers
and Artificers.

*No slaves nor
bondmen in
England.*
[Not true as to
bondmen.]

Foreign slaves
become free so
soon as they set
foot on English
soil.

Labourers have
no voice in the
Commonwealth,
but are to be
ruled:

yet sometimes
they're put on
inquests, and
made church-
wardens, &c.

[² p. 164]

Swarms of idle
Serving Men.

The fourth and last sort of people in England are daie labourers, poore bulbandmen, and some retailers (which haue no free land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, shomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, masons, &c. As for slaues and bondmen we haue none, [naie such is the priuilege of our cuntry by the especiall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, so soone as they set foot on land they become so free of condition as their masters, whereby all note of seruile bondage is vtterlie remooued from them, wherein we resemble (not the Germans who had slaues also, though such as in respect of the slaues of other countries might well be reputed free, but) the old Indians and the Taprobanes, who supposed it a great iniurie to nature to make or suffer them to be bond, whoime she in hir woonted course dooth product and bring forth free.] This² [fourth and last sort of people] therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogether neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen, they are faine to make vp their inquests of such maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, sidemen, aleconners, [now and then] constables, and manie times inioie the name³ of hedboroughes. [Vnto this sort also may our great swarmes of idle seruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a prouerbe; Yoong seruing men, old beggers: bicause seruice is none heritage.

¹ these yeomen

² These

These men are profitable to none, for if their condition be well perused, they are enemies to their masters, to their friends, and to themselves: for by them oftentimes their masters are encouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their friends brought vnto pouertie by their rents enhanced, and they themselves brought to confusion by their owne prodigalitie and errors, as men that, hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their excesses, doo search in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and stables, which way to supplie their wants. How diuerse of them also, coueting to beare an high saile, doo insinuate themselves with yoong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the case is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaired, but also their liuelihoods and reuenues so wasted and consumed, that if at all, yet not in manie yeares, they shall be able to recouer themselves. It were verie good therefore that the superfluous heapes of them were in part diminished. And sith necessitie inforceth to haue some, yet let wisdome moderate their numbers, so shall their masters be rid of vnnecessarie charge, and the common wealth of manie theeuers. No nation cherisheth such store of them as we doo here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themselves to idleness, that otherwise would be brought to labour, and liue in order like subiects. Of their whoredomes I will not speake anie thing at all, more than of their swearing, yet is it found that some of them doo make the first a cheefe pillar of their building, consuming not onlie the goods but also the health & welfare of manie honest gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by such vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I waded in this point, or how farre may I saile in such a large sea? I will therefore now staie to speake anie more of those kind of men. In returning therefore to my matter,] this furthermore among other

The idle Serving-men are evil to every one.

They turn highway robbers too,

and waste young gentlemen's estates.

Their number should be lessend.

England keeps more of them than any other nation does.

These Serving-men too practise whoredom and swearing.

Our husband-
men and arti-
ficers were
never better
tradesmen than
they are now,

though some
scamp their
work,

and bungle it
up.

How many
needless trades
have we !

And how many
needful things
do we pay dear
for, that we
could get
cheaper from
abroad !

The Common-
wealth is
govern'd by

1. King,

2. Gentlemen :
Lords and

no Lords :

things I haue to saie of our husbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer so excellent in their trades as at this present. But as the workmanship of the later sort was neuer more fine and curious to the eie, so was it neuer lesse strong and substantiall for continuance and benefit of the buiers. ¹ Neither is there anie thing ¹ that hurteth [the common sort of] our artificers more than haist, and a barbarous or flauish desire [to turne the penie, and] by ridding their worke to make speedie vtterance of their wares : which inforceth them to bungle vp and dispatch manie things they care not how so they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often fore defrauded, and findeth to his cost, that haist maketh waist, according to the prouerbe.

[Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no need ? how manie needfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great cost, &c : and yet may with farre more ease and lesse cost be prouided from other countries if we could vse the meanes. I will not speake of iron, glasse, and such like, which spoile much wood, and yet are brought from other countries better cheepe than we can make them here at home ; I could exemplifie also in manie other.] But to leaue these things and proceed with our purpose, and herein (as occasion serueth) generallie [by waie of conclusion] to speake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by three sorts of persons.

1 The prince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, or (if the crowne fall to the woman) the queene : in whose name and by whose authoritie all things are administred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two sorts,² as the baronie or estate³ of lords (which containeth barons and all aboue that degree) and also those that be no lords, as knights, esquiers, & simple gentlemen, ⁴ as I

¹—¹ Certes there is nothing

² parts

³ estates

⁴—⁴ &c

haue noted alreadie. Out of these also are the great deputies and high presidents chosen, of which one serueth in Ireland, as another did sometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one lord president dooth gouerne in Wales, and the other the north parts of this Iland, which later with certeine councellors and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But forsomuch as I haue touched their conditions elsewhere,⁴ it shall be enough to haue remembred them at this time.

(From the gentlemen are chosen the Deputies and Lords President.

3 The third and last sort is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their sequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue said somewhat euen now. [Whereto I ad that they be not called masters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Coot, goodman Cornell, goodman Mascal, goodman Cockswet, &c: & in matters of law these and the like are called thus, Giles Iewd yeoman, Edward Mountford yeoman, Iames Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common sorts. *Cato* calleth them *Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ*, of whom also you may read more in the booke of common wealth which sir *Thomas Smith* sometime penned of this land.]

3. Yeomen,

who are calld, not 'Master,' but 'Goodman,' Cockswet, &c.

Of gentlemen¹ also some are by the prince chosen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which [said] offices diuerse concerne the whole realme; some be more priuat and peculiar to the kings house. And they haue their places and degrees, prescribed by an act of parlement made *An. 31 H[enr]. octau.*, after this maner insuing.

Gentlemen are chosen for high offices by the King.

These foure the lord Chancellor, the lord Treasuror [(who is *Supremus ærarij Anglici quæstor* or *Tribunus ærarius maximus*)] the lord President of the councill, and the lord Priue seale, being persons of the degree of a baron or aboue, are in the same act appointed to sit in

The Lord Chancellor and 3 other Officials sit above all Dukes, &c. not of the blood royal.

¹ these

the parlement and in all assemblies or counsell aboute all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, *Videlicet* the kings brother, vncl, or nephue.

The 6 Lord-officers who're entitled to sit first, each in his own rank.

And these six, the lord¹ great Chamberleine of England: the lord² high Conftable of England: the lord Marshall of England: the lord Admirall of England: the lord great master or Steward of the kings house: and the lord³ Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all assemblies of counsell, after the lord priuie seale, according to their degrees and estats: so that if he be a baron, then [he is] to sit aboute all barons: or an earle, aboute all earles.

The King's Secretary sits above all of his own rank.

And so likewise the kings secretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboute all barons, and if he be a man of higher degree, he shall sit and be placed according therevnto.

[The rehearfall of] the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or first calling to their degrees, [as they are to be found at this present.]

No duke in England.
[Earles.]

The Marquise of Winchester.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Oxford.
The earle of Northumberland.
The earle of Shrewesburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derby.
The earle of Worcester.
The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suffex.
The earle of Huntingdon.

[¹ p. 165]

¹ L.

² L.

³ or Kings

The earle of Bath.
 The earle of Warwike.
 The earle of Southampton.
 The earle of Bedford.
 The earle of Penbrooke.
 The earle of Hertford.
 The earle of Leiceſter.
 The earle of Eſſex.
 The earle of Lincolne.

The Earls of
 England.

The viſcount Montague.
 The viſcount Bindon.

[*Viſcounts.*]

The lord of Abergeuennie.
 The lord Awdeleie.
 The lord Zouch.
¹ The lord Barkeleie.
 The lord Morleie.
 The lord Dacres of the fouth.
 The lord Cobham.
¹ The lord Stafford.
 The lord Greie of Wilton.
 The lord Scroope.
 The lord Dudleie.
 The lord Latimer.
 The lord Stourton.
 The lord Lumleie.
 The lord Mountioie.
 The lord Ogle.
 The lord Darcie of the north.
 The lord Mountegle.
 The lord Sands.
 The lord Vaulx.
 The lord Windfore.

[*Barons.*]

¹ The 1577 ed. had beſides, 'The Lorde Straunge,' [? of Knokyn, the Earl of Derby's eldeſt ſon: *Nicolas*, ii. 614] and 'The Lorde Talbot,' both here cut out. The Baronies of Strange [of Blackmere] and Talbot were merged in the Earl of Shrewsbury's titles: *Nicolas*, ii. 615.—F.

The Barons of
England.

The lord Wentwoorth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willowbie.
The lord Sheffield.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chiche[ster.]
The lord Howard of Effingham.¹
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunfdon.
The lord saint John of Bletso.
The lord of Buckhirst.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

Archbishops
and Bishops as
they sat in
Parliament in
1564.

Bishops in their anciencie, as they
sat in parlement, in the fist of the
Queenes maiesties reigne²
[that now is.]

[*Clergie.*]

{ The archbishop of Canturburie.
The archbishop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Winchester. }

The rest had their places in senioritie of conse-
cration.

¹ Hawarde of Offingham

² the reigne

Chichester.	Bath and Welles.	English Bishops A.D. 1564.
Landaffe.	Couentrie and	
Hereford.	Lichfield.	
Elie.	Excester. ¹	
Worcester.	Norwich.	
Bangor.	Peterborough.	
Lincolne.	Carleill.	
Salisbury.	Chester.	
S. Davids.	S. Asaph.	
Rocheſter.	Gloceſter.	

[And this for their placing in the parlement house. Howbeit, when the archbishop of Canturburie siteth in his prouinciall assemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbishop of Yorke, and next vnto him the bishop of Winchester, on the left hand the bishop of London : but if it fall out that the archbishop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his see, then the archbishop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the bishop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Winchester to his left, the rest sitting alwaies as afore, that is to saie, as they are elders by consecration, which I thought good also to note out of an ancient president.]

In his provincial assembly, the Archbishop of Canterbury has the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Winchester on his right, and the Bishop of London on his left.

Of the food and diet of *the English.*²

Chap. 6.³

THE situation of our region, lieng neere vnto the north, dooth cause the heate of our stomaches ⁴to be of somewhat ⁴ greater

As England is cold, English stomachs want

¹ Exceter

² See Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary of Helth*, 1542, E. E. Text Soc. 1870, for a description of how to build houses, and manage them and men's income, and what food folk should eat.

³ In the 1577 ed. this chapter forms the 1st of the third book.

⁴—⁴ somewhat to increase and become of

more food than
Southern folk
do.

force: therefore¹ our bodies doo craue² a little³ more ample nourishment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accustomed withall, whose digestiue force is not altogether so vehement, bicause their internall heat is not so strong as ours, which is kept in by the coldnesse of the aire, that from time to time (speciallie in winter) dooth enuiron our bodies.

Our tables have
always been
better furnisht
than those of
other nations.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifulle garnished than those of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen since the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our predeceffors fed largelie vpon flesh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, bicause they applied their cheefe studies vnto pasturage and feeding. After this maner also did our Welsh Britons order themselues in their diet so long as they liued of themselves, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the English, they framed their appetites to liue after our maner, so that at this daie there is verie little difference betweene vs in our diets.

The late im-
provement in
Scotchmen's
diet.

[In Scotland likewise they haue given themselves (of late yeares to speake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for some respect nature dooth make them equall with vs: so otherwise they far exceed vs in ouer much and distemperate gormandize, and so ingrosse their bodies that diuerse of them doo oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to spend their times in large tabling and bellie cheere. Against this pampering of their carcasses dooth *Hector Boetius* in his description of the countrie verie sharpelie inueigh in the first chapter of that treatise. *Henrie Wardlaw* also bishop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into excessiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with Iames the first (who had beene long time prisoner there vnder the

They gormandize so that
they're fit for
nothing but
stuffing.
Hector Boece
and Bishop
Wardlaw rebuke
them for it.

¹ wherefore

²⁻³ somewhat

fourth & fift Henries, ¹ and at his returne caried diuerse English gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorable preferred there) dooth vehementlie exclaime against the same in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three estats, and so bringeth his purpose to passe in the end by force of his learned persuasions, that a law was presentlie made there for the restraint of superfluous diet, amongest other things baked meats (dishes neuer before this mans daies seene in Scotland) were generallie so prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the same vnder the degree of a gentleman, and those onelie but on high and festiuall daies; but alas it was soone forgotten.]

¹ p. 145]

In 1433, Bishop Wardlaw got a law made that

bak't meats were to be eaten only by gentlemen.

In old time these ² north Britons did giue themselves vniuerfallie ³ to great abstinence, and in time of warres their souldiers would often feed but once or twise at the most in two or three daies (especiallie if they held themselves in secret, or could haue no issue out of their bogges and marishes, through the presence of the enimie) [and] in this distresse ⁴ they vsed to [eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof so much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rootes, or if these shifts serued not thorough want of such prouision at hand, then vsed they] to creepe into the water or [said] moorish plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their stomachs by violence, which otherwise would haue wrought and beene readie to oppresse them for hunger and want of sustinance. In those daies likewise it was taken for a great offense ⁵ ouer all, ⁶ to eat either goose, hare, or henne, bicause of a certeine superstitious opinion which they had conceiued of those three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans [(I saie)] had once found an entrance into this

North Britons in old times liv'd on very little;

when in trouble, on a bit of concentrated food only as big as a bean,

or on herbe and roots,

or a good soak in a marsh.

And they never eat goose, hare, or hen.

² the ³ generally ⁴ penurye also ⁵—⁶ amongst them

Iland, it was not long yer¹ open shipwracke was made of this religious obseruation, so that in proceſſe of time, so well the [north and south] Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make² such difference in meats, as they had doone before.³

The English eat
all they can buy.

(except on non-
fish days.)

but white meat,
milk, butter,
cheese, tho' very
dear, are eaten
only by the poor.

The rich folk eat
brown meat,
fish,

and fowl wild
and tame, home-
bred and
foreign.

Noblemen have
musical-headed
French cooks.

From thencefoorth also vnto our daies, and euen in this season wherein we liue, there is no restraint of anie meat, either for religious sake or publike order [in England,] but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what foeuer he is able to purchase, except it be vpon those daies whereon eating of flesh is especiallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increased, & that aboundance of fish which the sea yeeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beside this, there is great consideration had in making of this law for the preferuation of the nauie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of sea faring men, both which would otherwise greatlie decaie, if some meanes were not found whereby they might be increased. But how foeuer this case standeth, white meats,⁴ milke, butter & cheese, which were [neuer so deere as in my time, and] woont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe staies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour sort, whilest such as are more wealthie, doo feed vpon the flesh of all kinds of cattell accustomed to be eaten, all sorts of fish taken vpon our coasts and in our fresh riuers, and such diuersitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of dishes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England [(whose cookes are for the most part musically-headed Frenchmen and strangers)] doo most exceed, sith there is no daie in maner that passeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe,

¹ ere ² make any ³ before time ⁴ meats as

mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or to manie of these as the season yeeldeth: but also some portion of the red or fallow deere, beside great varietie of fish and wild foule, and thereto fundrie other delicacies wherein the sweet hand of the [seafaring] Portingale is not wanting: so that for a man to dine with one of them, and to tast of euerie dish that standeth before him (which few vse to doo,¹ but ech one feedeth¹ vpon that [meat] him best liketh for the time: [the beginning of euerie dish notwithstanding being referued vnto the greatest personage that sitteth at the table, to whome it is drawn vp still by the waiters, as order requireth, and from whome it descendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may tast thereof]) is rather to yeeld vnto a conspiracie with a great deale of meat for the speedie suppression of naturall health, then [the vse of a necessarie meane] to satisfie himselfe with a competent repast, to fusteine his bodie² withall. But as this large feeding is not seene in their gifts, no more is it in their owne persons, for sith they haue dailie much resort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for), and thereto retaine great numbers of seruants, it is verie requisite [& expedient] for them to be somewhat plentiful in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewise of their dailie prouision is brought in before them [(commonlie in siluer vessels if they be of the degree of barons, bishops, and vpwads)] and placed on their tables, wherof when they haue taken what it pleaseth them, the rest is referued, and afterward sent downe to their seruing men and waiters, who feed³ thereon in like sort with convenient moderation, their reuerfion also being bestowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the same. This is spoken of the principall⁴ tables wherewith the nobleman, his

Dinners of the Nobility (see Boorde in *Babes Book*; and Stube).

Delicacies brought by the Portuguese.

Every dish is taken first to the greatest personage at the table.

But Noblemen and their Guests don't stuff.

Their food is serued in silver vessels.

What they leave, goes to their seruing-men,

and the seruing-men's leavings go to the poor.

¹ but to feede

² lyfe

³ fed

⁴ chiefe

Separate allowance for the officers and household of Noblemen, with whom the inferior guests feed,

often 40 or 60 folk.

Drink is served in silver jugs, &c., and in fine Venice glasses or earthen pots, garnisht with silver

Each man calls for a cup, drinks, and hands it to his neighbour, who empties it, and puts the cup on the cupboard.

If full pots stood at every one's elbow, the tippling 'd be great.

ladie and guestes, are accustomed to sit; beside which, they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and household seruants (for all are not permitted [by custome] to wait vpon their maister) and with them such inferiour guestes, doo feed, as are not of calling to affociat the noble man himselfe; (so that besides those afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or three score persons fed in those hals, to the great reliefe of such [poore sutors and] strangers [also] as oft be partakers thereof, [and otherwise like to dine hardlie.] As for drinke, it is [vsuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of siluer in noble mens houses, also in fine Venice glasses of all formes, and for want of these elfewhere, in pots of earth of fundrie colours and moulds, whereof manie are garnished with siluer,) or at the leastwise in pewter; all which notwithstanding are] ¹ seldome set on the table; but each one, as necessitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of such drinke as him listeth to haue: ¹ so that when he hath tasted of it, he deliuered the cup againe to some one of the standers by, who making it cleane [by pouring out the drinke that remaineth,] restoreth it to the cupbord ² from whence he fetched the same. By this deuise ³ [(a thing brought vp at the first by *Mnestheus* of Athens, in conseruation of the honour of *Orestes*, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents *Egistus* and *Clitemnestra*),] much idle tippling is furthermore cut off, for if ⁴ the full pots should continuallie stand [at the elbow or] neere the trencher, diuerse would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke seldome, ⁵ and onelie when necessitie vrgeth, and so ⁵ auoid the note of great drinking, ⁶ or often

¹—¹ not usually set on the table in pottes or cruses, but each one calleth for a cup of such as he listeth to haue or as necessitie vrgeth him

² cubborne ³ occasion ⁴ for whereas ⁵—⁵ only to ⁶ drinkers

troubling of the seruitours [with filling of their bols.] Neuerthelesse, in the noble mens hals, this order is not vsed, neither in anie mans hause commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or esquire¹ of ² great reuenues. [It is a world to see in these our daies, wherin gold and siluer most aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing those mettals (bicause of the plentie) do now generallie choosfe rather the Venice glasse, both for our wine and beere, than anie of those mettals or stone wherein before time we haue beene accustomed to drinke; but such is the nature of man generallie, that it most coueteth things difficult to be attained; & such is the estimation of this stuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne neere to Venice situat on the Adriatike sea), from whence the verie best are dailie to be had, and such as for beautie doo well neere match the cristall or the ancient *Murrhina vasa*, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is seene in the gentilitie, so in the wealthie communaltie the like desire of glasse is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchase is yet much more increased to the benefit of the merchant. The poorest also will haue glasse if they may; but fith the Venecian is somewhat too deere for them, they content themselues with such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone; but in fine, all go one waie, that is, to shards at the last, so that our great expenses in glasse (beside that they breed much strife toward such as haue the charge of them) are worst of all bestowed in mine opinion, bicause their peeces doo turne vnto no profit. If the philosophers stone were once found, and one part hereof mixed with fortie of molten glasse, it would induce such a metalllicall toughnesse therevnto, that a fall should nothing hurt it in such maner; yet it might peraduenture bunch or batter it; neuerthelesse, that inconuenience were quickelie to be

[² p. 167]

But it is a wonder to see our Nobles prefer

Venice Glasse to silver.

The new trade in this Venice Glasse from Murano has enriched many.

Our poorest folk will have glasse too, but home-made, of fern and burnt stone.

But all goes to bits at last.

A fortieth of the Philosopher's Stone in it 'ud make it tough, and hammerable.

[*Ro. Bacon.*]

¹ Squire

redressed by the hammer. But whither am I slipped ?]

Gentlefolk and
Merchants keepe
much the same
table,
4 to 6 dishes,

or 1 to 3 when
they're alone,

with separate
diet for their
servants.

But at their
feasts, their

food equals that
of Nobles.

They have
besides, Jellies,

Marchpaine,
Tarts,
Conserves,
(Fr. ⁴ Codignat,)
Marmalade of
Quinces,

Florentines,
Sugard con-
fections.

The gentlemen and merchants¹ keepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himselfe with foure,² five, or six dishes, when they haue but small resort, or peradventure with one, or two, or three at the most, when they haue no strangers to accompanie them at their tables.³ And yet their seruants haue their ordinarie diet assigned, beside such as is left at their masters boordes, & not appointed to be brought thither the second time, which [neuerthelesse] is often seene generallie in venison, [lambe,] or some especiall dish, whereon the merchant man himselfe liketh to feed when it is cold, or peradventure [for fundrie causes incident to the feeder] is better so, than if it were warme or hot. To be short, at such time as the merchants doo make their ordinarie or voluntarie feasts, it is a world to see what great prouision is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein, beside that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will seldome regard anie thing that the butcher vsuallie killeth, but reiect the same as not worthie to come in place. In such cases also geliffes [of all colours, mixed with a varietie in the representation of fundrie floures, herbs, trees, formes of beasts, fish, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wrought with no small curiositie, tarts of diuerse hewes and fundrie denominations,] conferues [of old fruits forren and home-bred,] fuckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, ⁴sugerbread,⁴ gingerbread, florentines, wild foule, venison of all sorts, and [fundrie] outlandish confections; [altogether seasoned with suger (which *Plinie* calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuise not common nor greatlie vsed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia)] doo generallie beare the swaie, besides⁵ infinit deuises of our owne, not possible for me to

¹ merchant

² four or

³ owne table

⁴—⁴ sugred bread

⁵ with other

remember. [Of the potato and such venerous roots as Potato.
are brought out of Spaine, Portingale, and the Indies
to furnish vp our bankets, I speake not, wherein our
Mures of no lesse force, and to be had about Crofbie Mulberry?
Rauenfswath, doo now begin to haue place.]

But among all these, the kind of meat which is Dearest food the
obtained with most difficultie [and cost], is commonlie most desir'd.
taken for the most delicat, and therevpon each guesst
will sooneft desire to feed. And as all estats doo exceed
herin, I meane for [strangenesse and] number of costlie
dishes, so these forget not to vse the like excesse in Excess in wine.
wine, in somuch as there is no kind to be had (neither
anie where more store of all sorts than in England,
[although we haue none growing with vs but yearelie
to the proportion of 20000 or 30000 tun and vpwards, Of home-grown
notwithstanding the dailie restrinets of the same wine, only
brought ouer vnto vs,] wherof at ¹ great meetings there 25,000 tun a
is not some ² store to be had.² [Neither doo I meane year.
this of small wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, 56 kinds of
&c: which amount to about fiftie six sorts, according light wine;
to the number of regions from whence they come: but
also of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spanishe, 30 of strong
Canarian, &c: whereof Vernage, Cate pument, Raspis, wine (see *Babes*
Muscadell, Romnie, Bastard Lire, Oseie, Caprike, Book Index).
Clareie & Malmeseie, are not least of all accompted of,
bicause of their strength and valure. For as I haue said
in meat, so, the stronger the wine is, the more it is Wine, the
desired; by means wherof in old time, the best was stronger, the
called *Theologicum*, bicause it was had from the cleargie more desir'd.
and religious men, vnto whose houses manie of the In old time
laitie would often send for bottels filled with the same, *Theologicum* was
being sure that they would neither drinke nor be serued the best wine.
of the worst, or such as was anie waies mingled or
brued by the vintener: naie, the merchant would haue
thought that his soule should haue gone streightwaie
to the diuell, if he should haue serued them with other

¹ at such²—² portion providedThe wine-
mercant feared
he'd go to the
devil if he
didn't give the

clerics the best wine.

Artificial wines, Ypocras and Wormwood wine.

[Beere.]

1 or 2 years old.

March beere.

Stale beere, but new bread.

[Artificer's] and husbandmen's food.

London Companies' Feasts on Quarter-Days.

Working-men eat butcher's meat,

souse (pickl'd pork), fruit pies, &c.

Husbandmen's feasting, at Bridales, Purifications, &c.

The Guests bring their own provisions.

than the best.] Furthermore, when these haue had their course which nature yeeldeth, sundrie sorts of artificiall stuffe [as ypocras & wormewood wine] must in like maner succeed in their turnes, beside [stale] ale and [strong] beere, which neuerthelesse beare the greatest brunt in drinking, and are of so manie sorts and ages as it pleaseth the bruer to make them.

The beere that is vsed at noble mens tables [in their fixed and standing houses] is commonlie of a yeare old, or peradventure of two yeares tunning or more, but this is not generall. It is also brued in March, and therefore called March beere; but for the household, it is vsuallie not vnder a moneths age, ech one coueting to haue the same stale as he may, so that it be not fowre, and his bread new as is possible, so that it be not hot.

The artificer and husbandman make greatest account of such meat as they may soonest come by, and haue it quickliest readie, [except it be in London when the companies of euery trade doo meet on their quarter daies, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie.] Their food also consisteth principallie in beefe, and such meat as the butcher selleth, that is to saie, mutton, veale, lambe, porke, &c: whereof he¹ findeth great store in the markets adioining, beside soufe, brawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, fowles of sundrie sorts, cheefe, butter, eggs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne prouision, which is at the best hand, and commonlie least charge. In feasting also, this latter sort, [I meane the husbandmen,] doo exceed after their maner: especiallie at bridales, purifications of women, and such² od meetings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed & spent, ech one bringing such a dish, or so manie [with him], as his wife & he doo consult vpon, but alwaies with this consideration, that the leesser freend shall haue the³ better

(¹ the Artificer)

² such like

³ best intertainement

prouifion.³ This alfo is commonlie feene at thefe bankets, that the good man of the houfe is not charged with any thing fauing bread, drink, [fauce,] houfe¹roome and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doo deale far otherwife; for albeit that fome of them doo fuffer their iawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerfe of them, by making good cheere, doo hinder themfelues and other men: yet the wifer fort can handle the matter well inough in thefe iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deferueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the husbandman are fufficientlie liberall, & verie freendlie at their tables; and when they meet, they are fo merie without malice, and plaine without inward [Italian or French] craft and subtilltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour fort [fomewhat] to be blamed, that being thus affembled, their talke is now and then fuch as fauoureth of fcurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themfelues not to be merie & welcome, if their foolifh veines in this behalfe be neuer fo little reftreined. This is moreouer to be added in thefe meetings,² that if they happen to fumble vpon a peece of venifon, and a cup of wine or verie strong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide againft their appointed daies) they thinke their cheere fo great, and themfelues to haue fared fo well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome, when their bellies be full, they will [not] often [fticke to] make comparifon, [becaufe that of a fubieft there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.]

I might here talke fomewhat of the great filence that is vfed at the tables of the honorable and wifer fort, generallie ouer all the realme [(albeit that too

The good-man
finde only drink
and houfe-room.
[¹ p. 168]
The town
workmen are

more frugal in
feasting than
the country
ones.
Both artificers
and husband-
men are fuch
very friendly
folk, that it does
a man good to
be with 'em,

tho' now and
then their talk
is fcurrilous and
ribald.

When they get
hold of a bit of
venifon and a
cup of wine,
they fay,

*I haue dined so
well as my lord
maior.*

with whom no
City Officer in
Europe can
compare.

Silence at the
tables of the
wifer fort.

² assembles

No man of
position will
stuff or get
drunk.

But the poorer
husbandmen
and country
folk do babble,

and get drunk
now and then.

Their home fare
is hard,

so they're soon
upset. But
they feel
drunkenness is
a disgrace.

Wealthy
countrymen
make their
friends welcome
however long
they stay ;

but Londoners

much deserueth no commendation, for it belongeth to gefts neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*)] likewise of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie seene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himselfe from the note of surffetting and dronkenness, (for which cause salt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit esteemed, and yet these three may not be much powdered ;) but as in rehearfall thereof I should commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, so I could not cleare the meaner sort of husbandmen, and countrie inhabitants, of verie much babbling (except it be here and there some od yeoman¹) [with whome, he is thought to be the meriest, that talketh of most ribaldrie, or the wisest man that speaketh fastest among them], & now and then surffetting and dronkenness, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in those errours of set mind and purpose. [It may be that diuers of them liuing at home, with hard and pinching diet, small drinke, and some of them hauing scarce enough of that, are soonest ouertaken when they come vnto such bankets ; howbeit, they take it generallie as no small disgrace if they happen to be cupshotten, so that it is a greefe vnto them, though now fans remedie, sith the thing is doone and past. If the freends also of the wealthier sort come to their houses from farre, they are commonlie so welcome till they depart, as vpon the first daie of their comming ; wheras in good townes and cities, as London, &c : men oftentimes complaine of little roome ; and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie bestowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an " You are hartelie welcome " is thought to be great interteinement ; and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this saieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of townesmens

¹ man

and Londoners after the daies of their abroad in this maner :

*Primus iucundus, tollerabilis estque secundus,
Tertius est vanus, sed fetet quatriduanus.]*

wish 'em at the
devil after
4 days.

The bread through out the land is made of such [Bread.]
graine as the soile yeeldeth, neuerthelesse the gentilitie
commonlie prouide themselues sufficientlie of wheat
for their owne tables, whilest their household and poore
neighbours [in some shires] are inforced to content
themselues with rie, or barleie, yea, and in time of
dearth, [manie] with bread made either of beans, peasen,
or otes, or of altogether [and some acornes among,] of
which scourge the poorest doo soonest tast, fith they are
least able to prouide themselues of better. I will not
saie that this extremitie is oft so well to be seene in time
of plentie as of dearth, but if I should, I could easilie
bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more
ground eared now almost in euerie place, than hath
beene of late yeares, yet such a price of corne con-
tinueth in each towne and market without any iust cause
[(except it be that landlords doo get licences to carie
corne out of the land onelie to keepe vp the peeces¹ for
their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-
wealth)] that the artificer and poore laboring man, is
not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content him-
selfe with horffecorne, I meane, beanes, peasen, otes,
tares, and lintels: and theerfore it is a true prouerbe,
and neuer so well verified as now, that 'hunger setteth
his first foot into the horffe manger.' If the world last
a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine
for poore men to feed on; and some catterpillers there
are, that can saie so much alreadie.

The Gentry eat
bread of wheat;
the poor of rye
or barley; and
even of beanes,
oats, and acorns

And this even
in times of
plenty, as

corn is so dear.

A famine at
hand is first
scene in the
horffe manger
when the poore
doo fall to horffe-
corne.

Two-legged
caterpillars.

Of bread made of wheat, we haue fundrie sorts,
dailie brought to the table, whereof the first and most
excellent is the mainchet,² which we commonlie call

4 kinds of
wheat-bread:

1. Manchet,

¹ ? prices—F.

² manchet

*Primarius
panis.
Kinds of
wheat-bread.*

2. [*Cheat bread.*]

3. [*Rauelled
bread.*]

*The size of bread
is verie ill kept
or not at all
looked vnto in
the countrie
townes and
markets.*

4. [*Browne
bread.*]
a. of whole meal,
unsifted,

white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, wherof *Budeus* also speaketh, in his first booke *De affe*; [and our good workemen deliuer commonlie such proportion, that of the flower of one bushell with another, they make fortie cast of manchet, of which euerie lofe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen, and six ounces out, as I haue beene informed.] The second is the cheat or wheaton bread, so named bicause the colour therof resembleth the graie [or yellowish] wheat [being cleane and well dressed,] and out of this is the courtest of the bran¹ (vsuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raeued is a kind of cheat bread also, but it reteineth more of the grosse, and lesse of the pure substance of the wheat: and this being more sleightlie wrought vp, is vsed in the halles² of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other [either] is [or should be] baked in cities & good townes of an appointed fize (according to such price as the corne dooth beare) [and] by a statute provided [by king John] in that behalfe. [The raeued cheat therefore is generallie so made, that out of one bushell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be sifted and taken from it (wherevnto they ad the gurgeons that rise from the manchet), they make thirtie cast, euerie lofe weighing eighteene ounces into the ouen, and sixteene ounces out: and beside this they so handle the matter, that to euerie bushell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie, or three and twentie, pound of water, washing also (in some houses) there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour, and pleasing to the eie, than otherwise it would be.] The next sort is named browne bread, of the colour, of which we haue two sorts, one baked vp as it cometh from the mill, so that neither the bran³ nor the floure are anie whit diminished: this, *Celsus* called *Autopirus panis*, lib. 2. and putteth it in the second place of nourishment. The other bath little or

¹ brennes

² houses

³ brennes

no floure left therein at all, howbeit he calleth¹ it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the woorst and weakeſt of all the other ſorts, but alſo appointed in old time for ſeruants [ſlaues] and the inferiour kind of people [to feed² vpon.] Herevnto likewiſe, bicauſe it is drie and brickle in the working (for it will hardlie be made vp handſomelie into loaues), ſome adde a portion of rie meale [in our time], whereby the rough drineſſe or drie roughnes therof is ſomewhat qualified, & then it is named miſcelin,³ that is, bread made of mingled corne, albeit that diuerſe doo [ſow or] mingle wheat & rie of [ſet] purpoſe at the mill, [or before it come there] and ſell the ſame at the markets vnder the aforeſaid name.

Panis Cibarius.
b. pollard or
brown bread,

[² p. 169]

with a little
rye meal, and
cald

Miſcelin or
Mealin.

In champeigne countries, much rie and barleie bread is eaten, but eſpeciallie where wheat is ſcant and geſon. Aſ for the difference that is betweene the ſummer and winter wheat, moſt huſbandmen know it not, ſith they are neither acquainted with ſummer wheat, nor winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both ſorts, [ſpeciallie in the north, and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and alſo of ſummer rie], but in ſo ſmall quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie⁴ common among vs.

*Summer wheat
and winter bar-
leie verie rare
in England.*

Our drinke, whoſe force and continuance is partlie touched alreadie, is made of barleie, water, and hops, ſodden and mingled together, by the induſtrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barleie doo come vnto their hands, it ſuſteineth great alteration, and is conuerted into malt, the making whereof I will here ſet downe in ſuch order as my ſkill therein may extend vnto (for I am ſcarſe a good malſter), chieſelie for that forreine writers haue attempted to deſcribe the ſame, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue ſhot ſo farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betweene themſelues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beſeech

Drinke,
made of barley,
water and hops,

the barley being
malted.

Malt.

¹ orig. callech

³ miſſelen

⁴ any thing

thee), that lead thee from the description of the plentiful diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a feruile trade, or rather, from a table delicatelie furnished, into a mustie malthouse: but such is now thy hap, wherefore I praie thee be contented.

Making of malt.¹

Barley is steeped
3 days and
3 nights,

drained,

left till it's
'Comming'
and 'Come'—
till it shoots—

then left on the
floor for 21 days,

and lastly,
gently heated
in a kiln till
it's dry.

Our malt is made [all the yeare long in some great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens houses, who communlie make sufficient for their owne expenses onelie, the winter halfe is thought most meet for that commoditie: howbeit, the malt that is made when the willow dooth bud, is communlie worst of all; neuertheless, each one induoureth to make it] of the best barleie, which is steeped in a cesterne, in greater or lesse quantitie, by the space of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie foked. This being doone, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and laie it vpon the cleane floore on a round heape, it resteth so vntill it be readie to shoote at the root end, which maltsters call *Comming*. When it beginneth therefore to shoot in this maner, they saie it is come, and then forthwith they spread it abroad, first thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the said floore (as it commeth), and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure or fve times) by the space of one and twentie daies at the least, the workeman not suffering it in anie wise to take anie heat, whereby the bud end should spire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which ouersight [or hurt of the stuffe it selfe] the malt would be spoiled, and ² turne small commoditie to the bruer.² When it hath gone, or beene turned, so long vpon the floore, they carrie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue spread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. For the more it be dried [(yet must it be

¹ maultes

²—² come to small comoditie

doone with soft fire)] the [sweeter and] better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it), but slackelie handled, it will breed a kind of worme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the floure of the corne, and in proceffe of time will so eat out it selfe, that nothing shall remaine of the graine but euen the [verie] rind or huske.

If not quite dried, the malt'll breed Weevils.

The best malt is tried by the hardnesse & colour, for if it [looke fresh with a yellow hew, & thereto] will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kinnell in sunder in the midst, then you may assure your selfe that it is dried downe. In some places it is dried [at leifure] with wood alone, or strawe alone, in other with wood and strawe together; but of all, the strawe dried is the most excellent. For the wood dried malt when it is brued, beside that ¹ the drinke ¹ is higher of colour, it dooth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vsed thereto, bicause of the smoake. Such also as vse both indifferentlie, doo [barke,] cleaue, and drie their wood [in an ouen, thereby] to remooue all moifure that shuld procure the fume,² and this malt is in the second place, & with the same likewise, that which is made with dried firze, broome, &c: whereas if they also be occupied greene, they are in maner so preiudiciall to the corne, as [is] the moist wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruig whereof some ³ grinde the same somewhat groselie, and in seething well the liquor that shall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcorne, which consisteth of fundrie graine, as wheate [and] otes ⁴ [groond]. ⁵ But what haue I to doo with this matter, or rather so great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted? Neuer-thelesse, sith I haue taken occasion to speake of bruig,

When rightly dried, and bitten thro', it'll write like a bit of chalk.

Straw-dried Malt is the best.

Bruig of barre.

Some folk add a ninth of corn to it.

¹—¹ it

² smoke

³ they

⁴ Peason, &c.

⁵—⁵ They seeth their woort also twice, that is once before they mashe or mire it with the mault and once after after, adding furthermore unto this later seething, a certeine number of englishe hops (for the outlandish are founde nowe to be the woorst) according to whose quantitie, the continuance of the drinke is determined.

This is how my
wife and her
maids brew
Beer.

* Goes to p. 160
They grind
8 bushels of
malt, add
 $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of
wheat meal, and
 $\frac{1}{2}$ of oat meal.

Pour on it
80 gallons of
boiling water,
and run that off;

then another
80 gallons;
while in 71 or 72
of the first 80,
two lbs of hops
are boild for
2 hours,

[Charwoort.]

the other 8 or 9
of the first 80
gallons being
jugd off as

Brackwoort or
Charwoort.

I will exemplifie in such a proportion as I am best skilled in, bicause it is the vsuall rate for mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practised by my wife & hir maid seruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as she hath oft informed me.^b

* [Hauing therefore ground eight bushels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is saued, she addeth vnto it halfe a bushell of wheat meale, and so much of otes small ground, and so tempereth or mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot easilie discerne the one from the other, otherwise these later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The first liquor—which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace,—she maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it softlie into the malt, where it resteth (but without stirring) vntill hir second liquor be almost readie to boile. This doone, she letteth hir mash run till the malt be left without liquor, or at the leastwise the greatest part of the moisture, which she perceiueeth by the staie and soft issue thereof; and by this time hir second liquor in the furnace is ready to seeth, which is put also to the malt, as the first woort also againe into the furnace, wherevnto she addeth two pounds of the best English hops, and so letteth them seeth together by the space of two houres in summer, or an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, or anie superfluous tartnesse. But before she putteth hir first woort into the furnace, or mingleth it with the hops, she taketh out a vessell full, of eight or nine gallons, which she shutteth vp close, and suffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this she referueth by it selfe vnto further vse, as shall appeare hereafter, calling it Brackwoort or Charwoort, and as she saith, it addeth also to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber, or fine gold, in hew vnto the eie. By this time also hir second woort is let

runne; and the first being taken out of the furnace, and placed to coole, she returneth the middle woort vnto the furnace, where it is striken ouer, or from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile, and mashed the second time, whilest the third liquor is heat (for there are three liquors) and ¹this last put into the furnace, when the second is mashed againe. When she hath mashed also the last liquor (and set the second to coole by the first), she letteth it runne, and then seetheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds, as she seeth cause by the goodnesse or basenesse of the hops; & when it hath foddren, in summer two houres, & in winter an houre & an halfe, she striketh it also, and referueth it vnto mixture with the rest when time dooth serue therefore. Finallie, when she setteth hir drinke together, she addeth to hir brackwoort or charwoort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberries finelie powdered, and then putting the same into hir woort, with an handfull of wheat flowre, she proceedeth in such vsuall order as common bruing requireth. Some, in steed of arras & baies, adde so much long pepper onelie, but, in hir opinion and my liking, it is not so good as the first, and hereof we make three hoggesheads of good beere, such (I meane) as is meet for poore men as I am, to liue withall, whose small maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare, *Computatis computandis*, able to performe?) may indure no deeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten shillings, my wood at foure shillings (which I buie), my hops at twentie pence, the spice at two pence, seruants wages two shillings six pence, with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my vessell at twentie pence, so that for my twentie shillings I haue ten score gallons of beere or more, notwithstanding the losse in seething, which some being loth to forgo, doo not obserue the time, and therefore speed thereafter in their

Then the second
80 gallons is
masht againe;
and a third 80 is

¹ p. 170]

boild with $1\frac{1}{2}$ or
2 lbs of fresh
hops

for 2 hours.

Then all 3 lots
are mixt, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of
arras, &c., being
added to the
Brackwoort.

This makes us
3 hogheads of
Beer, fit for
poor men like
me who've only
£40 a year;

and my 200
gallons cost me
only 20s.

The better beer
is hopt, the
longer it lasts.
(* Insertion
began on p. 158.)

Brewers look
well to the
water they use.

Thames water's
the best for
brewing.

Fen and marsh
water the worst,
and clear spring
water the next
worst.

Well brewd

beer's as yellow
as a gold Noble.

Ale isn't hopt,
is thick, and
soon turns;
and yet some
Ale-knights 'll
drink it all day
long.

successfe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, so that being well hopped it lasteth longer.*] For it feedeth vpon the hop, and ¹holdeth out¹ so long as the force of the same continueth, which being extinguished, the drinke [must be spent, or else it] dieth, and becometh of no value.

In this trade also our bruers obserue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; [and foile through which it passeth,] for all waters are not of like goodnesse, [sith the fattest standing water is alwaies the best: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie soiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the most excellent, yet the water that standeth in either of these is the best for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the sunne lieth longest, and fattest fish is bred. But of all other, the fennie and morish is the worst, and the cleereft spring water next vnto it.]

In this busines therfore² the skilfull³ workeman dooth redeeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (sometime our onelie, but now taken with manie⁴ for old and sick-mens drinke) is neuer seene nor heard of. Howbeit, as the beere well⁵ sodden in the bruing,⁵ and stale, is cleere and well coloured as muscadell or malueseie, [or rather, yellow as the gold noble, as our potknights call it:] so our ale, which is not at all or verie little sodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulsome, and of no such continuance, which are three notable things to be considered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know some aleknights so much addicted therevnto, that they will not cease from morow vntill euen to visit the same, clensing house after house, till they defile themselves, [and either fall quite vnder the boord, or else not daring to stirre from their stooles, sit still pinking with their narrow eies as halfe sleeping, till the fume of their

¹—¹ lasteth ² wherefore ³ diligent ⁴ manie only ⁵—⁵ brued

aduerfarie be digested that he may go to it afresh.] Such flights also haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mixe it with rosen and falt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale so neere the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you shall see the rosen [come forth] hanging on the knife. As for the force of falt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tiplenth, the more he may, and so dooth he carrie [off] a drie drunken noll¹ to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpose.

Alewives' tricks: they mix rosin and salt in their ale.

In some places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of pearres is named pirrie, [and both are groond and pressed in presses made for the nonce.] Certes these two are verie common in [Suffex,] Kent, Worcester, and other steeds, where these sorts² of fruits doo abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate sorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welshmen make no lesse accompt [and not without cause if it be well handled)] than the Greekes did of their Ambrosia or Nectar, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to be such as the gods³ themselues did⁴ delite in.⁴ There is a kind of swish swash made also in Essex, and diuerse other places, with honicombs⁵ and water, which the [homelie] countrie wiues, putting some pepper and a little other spice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for such as loue to be loose bodied [at large, or a little eased of the cough,] otherwise it differeth so much from the true metheglin, as chalke⁶ from cheefe. Trulie it is nothing else but the washing of the combs, when the honie is wroong out, and one of the best things that I know belonging thereto is, that they spend but litle labour, and lesse cost, in making of the same, and therefore no great losse if it were neuer occupied.

Cider.

Pirrie.

Metheglin.

A kind of swish-swash cald

Mead,

no more like Metheglin than chalk is like cheese.

[Hydromel.]

¹ soule ² kindes ³ goddesse ⁴—⁴ use ⁵ Hony ⁶ chalke doth

So much for our
folks' diet: but
I've promist my
friend to add
more.

*Lesse time
spent in eating
than heretofore.*

Formerly
4 meals a day :
1. breakfast,
2. dinner,
3. beverages or
nuntions,
4. late suppers ;

now only 2,
dinner and
supper.

*Canutus a
glutton, but
the Normans
at the last ex-
ceeded him in
that vice.*

Had 5 or 6 meals
a day, and sat
long at them.

Hitherto of the diet of my cuntrymen, & somewhat more at large peradventure than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finish this tractation,¹ and so will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole proceſſe of the ſame ſhall fullie be deliuered, & my promiſe to my freend in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath beene much more time ſpent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in theſe daies, for whereas of old we had breakefaſts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare ſuppers generallie when it was time to go to reſt (a toie brought ² into England ² by hardie ³ *Canutus* [and a cuſtome whereof *Athenæus* alſo ſpeaketh *lib. 1.* albeit *Hippocrates* ſpeake but of twiſe at the moſt *lib. 2. De rat vict. in ſeb. ac.*]) Now theſe od repaſts—thanked be God—are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there ſome yoong hungrie ſtomach ⁴ that cannot faſt till dinner time) contenteth himſelfe with dinner & ſupper onelie. The Normans miſliking the gormandiſe of *Canutus*, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table ſhould be couered aboue once in the daie, which *Huntingdon* imputeth to their auarice: but in the end, either waxing wearie of their owne frugalitie, or ſuffering the cockle of old cuſtome to ouergrow the good corne of their new conſtitution, they fell to ſuch libertie, that in often feeding they ſurmounted *Canutus* ſurnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but three or foure times in the daie, theſe ⁵ ſpred their clothes ſiue or ſix times, and in ſuch wiſe as I before rehearfed. They brought in alſo the cuſtome of long and ſtatelie ſitting at meat, ⁶ whereby their feaſts reſembled thoſe ancient pontificall bankets whereof *Macrobius* ſpeaketh *lib. 3. cap. 13.* and *Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10.* and which for ſumptuouſneſſe of fare, long ſitting,

¹ chapter

²⁻³ in

³ hard

⁴ ſtomacke

⁵ they

⁶⁻⁶ which is not yet left

and curiositie shewed in the same, exceeded all other mens feasting; which fondnesse is not yet left with vs, notwithstanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the physicians, who most abound, where most excessse and misgouernement of our bodics doo appeere,⁶

¹although it be a great expence of time, and worthie [of] reprehension. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, especiallie at great meetings, doo sit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, so that with manie is an hard matter, to rise from the table to go to euening praier, and returne from thence to come time enough to supper. For my part, I am perswaded that the purpose of the Normans at the first was to reduce the ancient Roman order [or Danish custome] in feeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. [And] indeed the Romans had such a custome, and likewise the Grecians,² as may appeere by the words of *Socrates*, who said vnto the *Atheniens*, *Oriente sole confilium, occidente conuiuium est cogitandum*, [although a little something was allowed in the morning to yoong children which we now call a breakefast.] *Plato* called the Siciliens monsters, for³ that they vsed to eat twise in the daie. Among the Persians onelie the king dined when the sunne was at the highest, and shadow of the stile at the shortest: the rest (as it is reported) went alwaies [but once] to meat when⁴ their stomachs craued it, [as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who, if appetite serue, refuse not to go to meat at anie houre of the night), and likewise the ancient Caspians. Yet *Arhianus* noteth it as a rare thing, *li. 4. cap. 16.* that the Tyrhenians had taken vp an ill custome to feed twise in a daie.] Howbeit at the last they fell generallie to allow of suppers toward the setting of the sunne [in all places,] bicause they would haue⁵ their whole⁶ familie to go to meat together, and wherevnto they

This folly still keeps-on, for doctors' good.

[¹ p. 171]

Nobles and rich men still sit at table till 2 or 3 P.M., having only just time for Prayers, Long sitting reprehended.

and then home to supper.

The Normans wisht at first to bring back the old Roman custom of 1 meal a day.

The Greeces allowd young children a Breakfast.

The Canariens and Indians eat once a day, when they're hungry.

² Grecians ³ in ⁴ as ⁵—⁶ all their

Plutarch says
that any one
who eat before
sunset was
thought a
glutton.

Dining wasn't
much us'd in
Christ's time.

*That is at
three of the
clocke at after-
noons.

The later
Romans workt
only 6 hours a
day, and eat and
drank the
other 6.

would appoint their guefts to come at a certeine length of the fhadow, to be perceiued in their dials. [And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as *Plutarch* faith) did feed before that time, he incurred a note of reprehension as if he had beene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. *Sympos.* 6.] Their slaues in like sort were glad, when it grew¹ to the tenth foot, for then were they sure soone after to go to meat. In the scripture we read of manie suppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vsed in Christs time, but taken as a thing latelie sproong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occasioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is pretie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth *Marius* for that he gaue himselfe to drinke² before the *ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too soone. Afterwards [when gurmandise increaseth yet more amongst the Romans, and from them was dispersed vnto all nations vnder their subiection, it came to passe that] six houres onlie were appointed to worke and consult in, and the other six of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verse faith:

*Sex horæ tantum³ rebus tribuantur agendis,⁴
Viuere post illas, littera zetha monet.*

[Wherevnto *Maximus Planudes* (except my memorie faile me) addeth this scholie after his maner, faieng that from morning vnto noone (which is six of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one dooth trauell about his necessarie affaires, that being doone, he betaketh himselfe to the refreshing of his bodie, which is noted and set downe by the Greeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby

¹ grewed

² drinking

³ tanto

⁴ agendus

the time is described; for those which point 7, 8, 9, and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yeeld ξηθι, which in English signifieth so much as 'liue,' as if they should meane, eat that thou maist liue.] But how *Martial* diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiser sort, these verses following doo more euidentlie declare :

Martial's division of his day :

Prima salutantes, atque altera continet horas,

Li. 4. epig. 8.

Exercet raucos tertia caufidicos.

In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,

Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.

Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua palestris,

Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.

Hora libellorum decima est Eupheme meorum,

Temperat Ambrosias cum tua cura dapes.

Et bonus æthereo laxatur Neclare Cæsar,

Ingentique tenet pocula parcamanu.

Tunc admitte iocos : gressu timet ire licenti,

Ad matutinum nostra Thaleia Iouem.

he didn't eat and drink till after the 10th hour.

Thus we see how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this¹ good custome. [I might here remember also their maner in pulling off their shooes when they sat downe to meat, whereof *Martial* saith :

The Romans pulld off their shooes when they sat down to meat.

Deposui soleas, assertur protinus ingens

Inter lactucas oxygarmumque liber, &c.

And *Tullie* also remembreth where he saith *Seruus à pedibus ad te misi*, which office grew of the said custome, as *Seruus ad limina* did of keeping the doore, though in most houses both these were commonlie one mans office, also *Ad pocula* of attending on the cup. But bicause the good writers of our time haue obserued these phrasés and such like with their causes and descriptions, in their infinite and seuerall trea-

¹ that

Nobles and
gentlefolk dine
at 11 A.M. and
sup at 5.

Merchants at 12,
and 6 P.M.

Husbandmen at
12, and 7 or 8.

Scholars dine
at 10.
The poor when
they can.

We begin with
butter and eggs
on fish-days.

We eat the
coarsest food
first, the most
delicate last ;

and drink our
mildest wines
first, the hottest
last.

tifes, I shall not need to discourse anie farther vpon them.] With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and students, doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before noone, and to supper at fiue, or betweene fiue and six at after-noone. The merchants dine and sup feldome before twelue at noone, and six at night especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone as they call it, and sup at seuen or eight : but out of the tearme in our vniuersities the scholers dine at ten. As for the poorest fort they generallie dine and sup when they may, so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but [a] needlesse matter. [I might here take occasion also to fet downe the varietie vsed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almost euerie nation had a seuerall fashon, some beginning of custome (as we doo in summer time) with salets at supper, and some ending with lettice, some making their entrie with eggs, and shutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all forts. Diuerse (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fish called *Gobius*, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet also) with butter and eggs vpon fish daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the most grosse food, and end with the most delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the best for his meniall seruants maketh his entrance at the best, so that he is sure therby to leaue the worst. We vse also our wines by degrees, so that the hottest commeth last to the table : but to stand vpon such toies would spend much time, and turne to small profit, wherfore I will deale with other things more necessarie for this turne.]

Of their¹ apparell and attire.Chap. 7.²

AN Englishman, indeuoring sometime to write of our attire, made sundrie platformes for his purpose, supposing by some of them to find out one stedfast ground whereon to build the summe of his discourse. But in the end (like an oratour long without exercise) when he saw what ³a difficult peece of worke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie drue the picture of a naked man,⁴

Andrew Boorde
tried to describe
our English
dress,

[³ p. 172]

but was forced to
draw only a
naked man,

¹ our

² In '77 ed. this is Chap. 2, Book III.

⁴



¶ I am an English man, and naked I wyl were that;
stand here, Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I All new fashyons be plesaunt to me;
shal were; I wyl haue them, whether I thryuo or
For now I wyll were thys, and now I thee.

From Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* (1547) and *Dyetary* (1542), ed. F. J. F. for

with a pair of
shears and a
piece of cloth.

Andrew Boord

hit the right
nail on the head
here, for our
fanciful folly in
dress is
astonishing.

[*Strange cuts.*]

I can't describe
Englishmen's
dress; first

Spanish; then

French; then

German; then
Turkish; then

Barbary-an:

they look as
absurd as a dog
in a doublet.

vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he should shape his apparell after such fashion as himselfe liked, sith he could find no kind of garment that could please him anie while together; and this he called an Englishman. Certes this writer (otherwise being a lewd [popish hypocrite] and vngratious priest¹) shewed himselfe herein not to be [altogether] void of iudgement, sith the phantastical follie of our nation, [euē from the courtier to the carter] is such, that no forme of apparell liketh vs longer than the first garment is in the wearing, if it continue so long, and be not laid aside to receiue some other trinket newlie deuised by the fickle headed tailors, who couet to haue seuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to draw fond customers to more expenſe of monie. For my part I can tell better how to inueigh against this enormitie, than describe [anie certaintie of] our attire: sithence such is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spanish guise, to morrow the French toies are most fine and delectable, yer² long no such apparell as that which is after the high Alman³ fashion, by and by the Turkish maner is generallie best liked of, otherwise the Morisco gowns, the⁴ Barbarian sleeues [the mandilion worne to Collie weston ward, and the short French breches] make such a comelie vesture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you shall not see anie so disguised, as are my countrie men of England.⁵ And as these fashions are diuerſe, so likewise it is a world to see the costlineſſe and the curiositie: the exceſſe and

E. E. Text Soc., 1870, p. 116. (A most quaint and interesting volume, though I say so.)—F.

¹ This is too harsh a character of Boorde: for a juster one, as I hope, see my Preface to his *Introduction*, p. 105.—F.

² ere

³ Almaine [see *Halle*, p. 516, 527.]

⁴ and the

⁵ See Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatyse of this Galaunt* (? ab. 1520 A.D.) in my *Ballads from Manuscripts* (1520-54), vol. i. p. 438-453 (Ballad Soc., 1868 and 1872), a satire on the Gallant or vicious Dandy of the day.—F.

the vanitie: the pompe and the brauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the fickleneffe and the follie, that is in all degrees: in somuch that nothing is more constant in England than inconstancie of attire.

Fickleness and
folly of the
English in dress.

[Oh how much cost is bestowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our soules! how manie futes of apparell hath the one, and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is asked in decking vp of the first, and how little space left wherein to feed the later? how curious, how nice also, are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailor please them in making it fit for their bodies? how manie times must it be sent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what reprochfull language doth the poore workeman beare awaie? and manie times when he dooth nothing to it at all, yet when it is brought home againe it is verie fit and handsome; then must we put it on, then must the long feames of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well vpon vs. I will saie nothing of our heads, which sometimes are polled, sometimes curled, or suffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off, aboue or vnder the eares, round as by a woodden dish. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which some are shauen from the chin like those of Turks, not a few cut short like to the beard of marques Otto, some made round like a rubbing brush, other with a *pique de vant* (O fine fashon!) or now and then suffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be so cunning in this behalfe as the tailors. And therefore if a man haue a leane and streight face, a marquette Ottons cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter like, a long slender beard will make it seeme the narrower; if he be wefell beaked, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner looke big like a bowlded

[Much cost vpon
the bodie, and
little vpon the
soule.]

How men and
women worry
the tailor,

and abuse him!

Then the
trying-on!

We sweat till we
drop, to make
our clothes fit.

Our hair we
poll, or curl;
wear long or
cropt.

[Beards.]

Different kinds
of beards for lean
faces, platter

ones, weasel-
beakt ones.

Some courtiers
wear rings in
their ears, to
improve God's
work.

Men spend most
on their arses,
and women on
their heads.

[*Excesse in
women.*]
Women are far
worse than men.
Whores' dress is
worn by sober
matrons.

They've cod-
pieces on their
breasts, galli-
gaskins on their
bums,

and many-
coloured
stockings.

Of some in
London, I
couldn't tell

hen, and so grim as a goose, if Cornelis of Chelmeresford faie true: manie old men doo weare no beards at all. Some lustie courtiers also and gentlemen of courage, doo weare either rings of gold, stones, or pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the workmanship of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather disgrace than adorne their persons, as by their nicenesse in apparell,]¹ for which I faie most nations doo not vniustlie deride vs, as also for that we doo seeme to imitate all nations round about vs, wherein we be like to the *Polypus* or Chameleon; and therevnto¹ bestow most cost vpon our arses, & much more than vpon all the rest of our bodies, as women doo likewise vpon their heads and shoulders. In women also it is most to be lamented, that they doo now farre exceed the lightnesse of our men (who neuerthelesse are transformed from the cap euen to the verie shoo) and such staring attire as in time past was supposed meet for none but light housewiewes onelie,³ is now become an habit for chaff and sober matrones. What should I faie of their doublets with pendant codpeeces on the brest full of iags & cuts, and fleeues of fundrie colours? their galligaskons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to fit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerflic] coloured nether stocks [of filke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commended? I haue met with some of ² these trulles² in London³ so ⁴ disguised, that it hath passed my

¹—¹ Neither can we be more iustly burdened with any reproche, then inordinate behaviour in apparrell, for which most nations deride us as also for that we men do seeme to ²—² them

³ See Robert Crowley's Epigram "Of Nice rogues" in his *One and thyrtye Epigrammes*, 1550 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871):

What shold we thynk of the women
that in London we se?

For more wanton lokes
I dare boldly saye,

⁴ so but

Were neuer in Jewyshe whores
then in London wyues thys daye.

And if gate and garmentes
do shewe any thyng,

skill to discerne whether they were men or women. whether they were men or women.

Thus it is now come to passe, that women are become men, and men transformed¹ into monstres: and those good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releue our necessities withall [(as a nation turning altogether the grace of God into wantonnesse, for God's good gifts are turnd into wantonnesse.

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque secundis)]

not otherwise bestowed than² in all exceffe, as if we wist not otherwise how to consume and waite them. I praie God that in this behalfe our sinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomorha, whose errors were pride, exceffe of diet, and abuse of Gods benefits aboundantie bestowed vpon them, beside want of charitie toward the poore, and certeine other points which the prophet shutteth vp in silence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be said to flourish where these abuses reigne, but is rather oppressed by vnreasonable exactions made vpon [rich] farmers, and [of poore] tenants, wherewith to mainteine the same. Neither Execk. 16. These abuses too cause exactions from poor tenants.

Our wines do passe their whoris
in whorelyke deckynge.
I thynk the abhominable
whores of the Stews,
Dyd neuer more whorelyke
attyrementes vse.
The cappe on hyr heade
is lyke a Sowes mawe:
Such an other facion
I thynk neuer Jewe sawe.
Then fyne geare on the foreheade
settle after the new trycke,
Though it coste a crowne or two,
What then? they may not stycke.
If they heyre wyl not take colour,
then must they by newe;
And laye it oute in tussockis:
this thyng is to true.
At each syde a tussocke
as bygge as a ball.
A very fayre syght
for a fornicator bestiall.

Hyr face faire paynted
to make it shyne bryght,
And hyr bosome all bare,
and most whorelyke dight.
Hyr mydle braced in,
as smal as a wande;
And some by wastes of wyre
at the paste wyfes hand.
A bumbe lyke a barrell,
with whoopes at the skyrte,
Hyr shoes of such stuffe
that may touche no dyrte.
Vpon hyr whyte fyngers
manye rynges of golde
Wyth such maner stones
as are most dearlye solde.
I haue tolde them but trueth,
let them saye what they wyl;
I haue sayde they be whorelike,
and so I saye still.

Shakspere complains of women painting their faces, and wearing sham hair, in *Loves Labours Lost*, IV. iii., and of the locks from 'the skull that bred them in the sepulchre', in *The Merchant*, III. ii.—F. ¹ turned ² them

All men to obey
Parliament.

[*Time of
summons.*]
40 days.

Writes to Sheriffs
of Counties to
choose 2
Knights,

and to Towns
to choose
Burgesses.

Electors in shire
and town.

[*Of the upper
house.*]

House of Lords
tapestri'd.

[*Places of the
peeres.*]
Spiritual Lords
on the King's
right: Temporal
Lords on his left.
Between, the
Judges, &c., on
woolsacks.

euerie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselfe, yet by his aduocate or atturpeie. For this cause also any thing ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the space of fortie daies, before this assemblie be begun, the prince sendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, summoning them to appeare at the said court. The like he doth to the shiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to choose two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduise in the name of the shire; likewise to euerie citie and towne, that they may choose their burgesse, which commonlie are men best skilled in the state of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of such benefites as they want, or to shew which waie to reforme such enormities as thorough the practises of ill members are practised and crept in among them: the first being chosen by the gentlemen of the shire, the other by the citizens and burgesse of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furnished. The first daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper house, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, doo attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in person, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after praiers made, and causes shewed, wherefore some not present are inforced to be absent, each man taketh his place according to his degree. The house it selfe is curiously furnished with tapisterie, and the king being set in his throne, the spirituall lords take vp the side of the house which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, so well dukes and earles, as viscounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middest and a pretie distance from the prince, lie certeine sackes stuffed with wooll or haire, wheron the iudges of the realme, the master of the rols, and secretaries of estate doo sit. Howbeit these iudges haue no voice in the house, but onelie shew what their opinion is of such &

such matters as come in question among the lords, if they be commanded so to doo : as the secretaries are to answer such letters or things passed in the councell, whereof they haue the custodie & knowledge. Finallie, the consent of this house is giuen by each man seuerallie, first for himselfe being present, then seuerallie for so manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, faieng onlie; *Content* or *Not content*, without any further debating. Of the number assembled in the lower house, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars shall follow here at hand. These therefore being called ouer by name, do choose a speaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they present vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuse or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name dooth answer vnto his oration, made at his first entrance & presentation into the house, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choise vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fise requests vnto that honorable assemblee, first that the house may (as in times past) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges : secondlie, that the congregates may frankelie shew their minds vpon such matters as are to come in question : thirdlie, that if anie of the lower house doo giue anie cause of offense during the continuance of this assemblee, that the same may inflict such punishment vpon the partie culpable, as to the said assemblee shall be thought conuenient : fourthlie, if anie doubt should arise among them of the lower house, that he in their name might haue free access and recourse vnto his maiestie & lords of the higher house, to be further instructed and resolved in the same : fiftlie and last, he craueth pardon for himselfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houses, he forget or mistake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in such things as he did faile in without offense : vnto which petitions the lord

The Upper House.

Peers vote in person, or by proxy, without debating.

(Of the lower house.

Speaker,]

the Mouth of the House.

The King can refuse or admit him.

Five
[Petitions of
the speaker]
to the Lord
Chancellor, for,
1. the House's
privileges,
2. right of free
speech,
3. of punishing
its own
offenders,

4. of access to
the Lords and
King,

5. forgiveness
for his mistakes.

chancellor dooth answer as apperteineth, and this is doone on the first daie, or peradventure the second, if it could not be conuenientlie performed in the first.

[*Clerke of the
parlement*]
reads the Bills,

then the
Members speak
for or agalnst,

and the Bills are
alterd accord-
ingly.

After the third
reading, the

Lords send
their Bills to the
Commons,

(I take all this
from Sir
T. Smith, who
took all his talk
of the different
ranks of England
from me)
[¹ p. 174]

and pray the
Commons' con-
sideration of
them.

Beside the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper house called the clerke of the parlement, whose office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that cometh in consultation in either house, is first put in writing in paper, which being read, he that listeth, riseth vp and speaketh either with it or against it, and so one after another so long as they shall thinke good; that doone, they go to another, and so to the third, &c: the instrument still wholie or in part rased or reformed, as cause moueth for the amendment of the same if the substance be reputed necessarie. In the vpper house the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingrossed, that is to saie, put in parchment, which doone, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro, if the more part doo conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of these words, *Are ye contented that it be enacted or no?* the clerke writeth vnderneath *Soit baille aux commons*, and so when they see time they send such billes approued, to the commons, by some of them that fit on the wooll sakes, who comming into the house, & demanding licence to speake, doo vse this kind of words or the like to the speaker, as sir *Thomas Smith* dooth deliuer¹ and set them downe, whose onelie direction I vse, and almost word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borowage as he hath vsed toward me in his discourse of the sundrie degrees of estates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) shall be no discredit to his trauell. "Master speaker, my lords of the vpper house haue passed amongst them, and thinke good that there should been acted by parlement, such an act, and such an act (reading their titles in such sort as he receiued them); they praie you therefore to consider & shew your aduise vpon them." Which doone, they go their waie, and the doore being shut after them,

the Speaker declareth what message was sent vnto them, and if they be then void of consultation vpon anie other bill, he presentlie demandeth what their pleasures are, first of one, then of another, &c: which are solemnelie read, or their contents breeflie shewed, and then debated vpon among them.

The speaker sitteth in a chaire erected somewhat higher than the rest, that he may see and be seene of all men; and before him on a lower seat sitteth his clerke, who readeth such bills as be first propounded in the lower house, or sent downe from the lords: for in that point each house hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke meet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bills be thrise, and on diuerse daies, read and disputed vpon before they come to the question, which is, whether they shall be enacted or not; and in discourse vpon them, verie good order is vsed in the lower house, wherein he that will speake giueth notice thereof by standing vp bare headed. If manie stand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he speaketh first that was first seene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the speaker, without reherfall of his name whose speeches he meaneth to confute, so that with a perpetuall oration, & not with altercation, these discourses are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie vpon that daie, so one man can not speake twice to one bill in one daie, though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may speake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, seditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vsed in this assemblie, yet if anie happen to escape and be vttered, the partie is punished according to the censure of the assemblie, and custome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they sit not except vpon some vrgent occasion: neither hath the speaker anie voice in that house, wherewith to moue or dissuade the furtherance or staie of anie bill, but his office is, vpon the reading thereof, breeflie to declare the

The Speaker

[Of the *netter* house.]

His Clerk reads all bills,

and they're read and debated on 3 several days.

The first Member who rises, speaks first.

No one can speak twice in 1 day on the same bill.

No biting words are us'd.

Afternoon sittings seldom held.

If Lords and Commons can't agree, appointed Members of each House hold a Conference.

No proxies allowed in the Lower House.

Bills decided by cry of 'Yea' or 'No.'

or if the cries seem equal, the Yeas sit down, the Nos stand up, and both are counted.

Acts are not law till both Houses and the Prince have agreed to them.

To assent, the Prince attends in person,

contents. If anie bill passe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus subscribed, *Les commons ont assentus*: so if the lords agree vpon anie bill sent vnto them from the commons, it is subscribed after this maner, *Les seigniours ont assentus*. If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betweene the vpper and nether houses, by certeine appointed for that purpose vpon the points in question, wherevpon, if no finall agreement by the more part can be obtained, the bill is dashed and reiected, or (as the faieng is) cleane cast out of the doores. None of the nether house can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne person; and after the bill twise read, then ingrof-fed, and the third time read againe & discourfed vpon, the speaker asketh if they will go to the question, whervnto if they agree, he holdeth vp the bill & faith; So manie as will haue this bill, go forward saie Yea: her-vpon so manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or lesse on either side, so is the bill to staie or else go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices seeme to be equall, so manie as allow of the bill, go downe withall, the rest sit still, and being told by the poll, the greater part doo carrie away the matter. If something be allowed and in some part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committees to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read, and passeth or staieth, as the voices yeeld therto. This is the order of the passage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houses haue agreed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his assent. Upon the last daie therfore of the parlement or session, the prince commeth in person againe into the house, in his robes as at the first. Where, after thanks giuen to the prince, first in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the speaker, for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor, in the princes name,

giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewise for their paines, with promise of recompense as opportunitie & occasion shall serue therefore. This doone, one readeth the title of euerie act passed in that session, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of, with these words, *Le roy veult*. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them *Le roy aduifera*. And so those acts are dashed, as the other from thencefoorth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except such as concerne some priuat persons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the seale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vse. And this is the summe of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfeiture of life, member, or lands of anie Englishman, where no law is ordeined for the same before hand, is auailable or can take place amongst vs. And so much in maner out of the third chapter of the second booke of the common-wealth of England written by sir *Thomas Smith*: whervnto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which send knights, burgessees, and barons to the parlement house, and dooth infue as followeth.]

the titles of all Acts are read, and he assents to or dissents from 'em. All Acts but private ones are printed.

This is all borrowd from Sir T. Smith's 'Common-wealth of England,' bk ii. ch. 2.

¹The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, sending knights, citizens, burgessees, and barons to the parlement of England.

Bedford.

K	Nights.	2
	The borough of Bedford.	2

Buckingham.

	Knights.	2
	The borough of Buckingham.	2

¹ In the 1577 ed. this list appears as part of chap. 3, book 3, "Of the Lawes of England."

The borough of Wickombe.	2
The borough of Ailesburie.	2
<i>Barckeshire.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of New Windfore.	2
The borough of Reading.	2
The borough of Wallingford.	2
The borough of Abington.	2
<i>Cornewall.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Launceston <i>aliàs</i> Newport.	2
The borough of Leskerd.	2
The borough of Loftwithiell.	2
The borough of Dunheuet.	2
The borough of Truro.	2
The borough of Bodmin.	2
The borough of Helston.	2
The borough of Saltash.	2
The borough of Camelford.	2
The borough of Portighsam <i>aliàs</i> Portlow.	2
The borough of Graunpount.	¹ 2
The borough of Eastlow.	2
The borough of Prurie.	2
The borough of Tregonie.	2
The borough of Trebenna <i>aliàs</i> Boffinnie.	2
The borough of S. Ies.	2
² The borough of Fowaie.	2
The borough of Germine.	2
The borough of Michell.	2
The borough of saint Maries.	2
<i>Cumberland.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Caerleill.	2
<i>Cambridge.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Cambridge.	2

[² p. 175.]¹ The figure is omitted in 1587 edition.

Chester.

Knights.	2
The citie of Chester.	2

Darbie.

Knights.	2
The borough of Darbie.	2

Deuon.

Knights.	2
The citie of Excester.	2
The borough of Totnes.	2
The borough of Plimmouth.	2
The borough of Barduestable.	2
The borough of Plimton.	2
The borough of Tauestocke.	2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdines.	2

Dorsetshire.

Knights.	2
The borough of Poole.	2
The borough of Dorchester.	2
The borough of Linne.	2
The borough of Melcombe.	2
The borough of Waiemouth.	2
The borough of Bureport.	2
The borough of Shaftesburie.	2
The borough of Warham.	2

Essex.

Knights.	2
The borough of Colchester.	2
The borough of Malden.	2

Yorkeſhire.

Knights.	2
The citie of Yorke.	2
The borough of Kingſton vpon Hull.	2
The borough of Knareſborough.	2
The borough of Skardborough.	2
The borough of Rippon.	2

The borough of Hudon.	2
The borough of Boroughbridge.	2
The borough of Thuske.	2
The borough of Aldebrough.	2
The borough of Beuerleie.	2
<i>Glocestershire.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Glocester.	2
The borough of Cirencester.	2
<i>Huntingtonshire</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Huntingdon.	2
<i>Hertfordshire.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of faint Albons.	2
<i>Herefordshire.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Hereford.	2
The borough of Lempster	2
<i>Kent.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Canturburie.	2
The citie of Rochester.	2
The borough of Maidstone.	2
The borough of Quinborough.	2
<i>Lincolne.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Lincolne.	2
The borough of Bostone.	2
The borough of great Grinesbie.	2
The borough of Stamford.	2
The borough of Grantham.	2
<i>Leicestershire.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Leicester.	2
<i>Lancastershire.</i>	
Knights.	2

The borough of Lancafter.	2
The borough of Preston in Andernes.	2
The borough of Liuerpoole.	2
The borough of Newton.	2
The borough of Wigan.	2
The borough of Clithero.	2
<i>Middlefer.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of London.	4
The citie of Westminster.	2
<i>Monmouth.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Monmouth.	1
<i>Northhampton.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Peterborough.	2
The borough of Northhampton.	2
The borough of Barkleie.	2
The borough of Higham Ferres.	1
<i>Nottingham.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Nottingham.	2
The borough of Efstreatford.	2
<i>Norffolke.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Norwich.	2
The borough of Linne.	2
The borough of great Jernemouth.	2
The borough of Thetford.	2
The borough of castell Rising.	2
<i>Northumberland.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of New castell vpon Tine.	2
The borough of Morpeth.	2
The borough of Barwike.	2
<i>Oxford.</i>	
Knights.	2

The citie of Oxford.	2
The borough of Bamburie.	2
The borough of Woodstocke.	2
<i>Rutland.</i>	
Knights.	2
<i>Surreie.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Southwarke.	2
The borough of Blechingleigh.	2
The borough of Rigate.	2
The borough of Guildford.	2
The borough of Gatton.	2
<i>Stafford.¹</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Lichfield.	2
The borough of Stafford. ²	2
The borough of New castell vnder Linne.	2
The borough of Tamworth.	2
<i>Salop.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Salop.	2
The borough of Bruges <i>aliàs</i> Bridgenorth.	2
The borough of Ludlow.	2
The borough of Wenlocke.	2
<i>Southhampton.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Winton.	2
² The borough of Southhampton.	2
The borough of Portesmouth.	2
The borough of Peterfield.	2
The borough of Stockebridge.	2
The borough of Christ church.	2
<i>Suffolke.</i>	
Knights.	2
The borough of Ippeswich.	2
The borough of Dunwich.	2

[p. 176]

¹ Stratford² Stratforde

The borough of Orford.	2
The borough of Aldeborough.	2
The borough of Sudburie.	2
The borough of Eya.	2

Summerfet.

Knights.	[2]
The citie of Brittow.	2
The citie of Bath.	2
The citie of Welles.	2
The borough of Taunton.	2
The borough of Bridgewater.	2
The borough of Minched.	2

Suffex.

Knights.	2
The citie of Chichester.	2
The borough of Horsham.	2
The borough of Midhurst.	2
The borough of Lewes.	2
The borough of Shorham.	2
The borough of Brember.	2
The borough of Stening.	2
The borough of Eastgrenefted.	2
The borough of Arundell.	2

Westmerland.

Knights.	2
The borough of Appulbie.	2

Wilton.

Knights.	2
The citie of New Sarum.	2
The borough of Wilton.	2
The borough of Dounton.	2
The borough of Hindon.	2
The borough of Heitesburie.	2
The borough of Westburie.	2
The borough of Caine.	2
The borough of Deuifes.	2
The borough of Chipenham.	2

The borough of Malmesburie.	2
The borough of Cricklade.	2
The borough of Budwin.	2
The borough of Ludgesfale.	2
The borough of Old Sarum.	2
The borough of Wotton Bassett.	2
The borough of Marleborough.	2
<i>Worcester.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Worcester.	2
The borough of Withee.	2
<i>Warwike.</i>	
Knights.	2
The citie of Couentrie.	2
The borough of Warwike.	2
<i>Barons of the ports.</i>	
Hastings.	2
Winchelfeie.	2
Rie.	2
Rumneie.	2
Hithe.	2
Douer.	2
Sandwich.	2
<i>Mountgomerie.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Mountgomerie.	1
<i>Flint.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Flint.	1
<i>Denbigh.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Denbigh.	1
<i>Merionneth.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Hauerfordwest.	1

<i>Carneruan.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Carneruan.	1
<i>Anglefeie.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Beaumares.	1
<i>Carmarden.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of new Carmarden.	1
<i>Pembroke.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Pembroke.	1
<i>Cairdigan.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Cardigan. ¹	1
<i>[Brecknoch.</i>	
[Knights.	1
The borough of Brecknoch.	1]
<i>Radnor.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Radnor.	1
<i>Glamorgan.</i>	
Knights.	1
The borough of Cardiff.	1

¶ The summe of the foresaid number of
the common house *videlicet*, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgesses. 289.
Barons. 14.

439.

¹ Brecknocke

Of the lawes of England¹ [since hir
first inhabitation.]

Chap. 9.²

Samoths (1)
and others of
whom we know
nothing.

THat *Samoths* or *Dis* gaue the first lawes to the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fiftenth of *Nimbrote*), the testimonie of *Berosus* is prooffe sufficient. For he not onelie affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of *Ninus*, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of more excellent wifdome, nor poliike inuention than³ he, whereof he was named *Samoths*, as some other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogether vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can absolutelie denie, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolish such as were in vse before them.

Albion. (2)

Brute. (3)

The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge, so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their dooings. Somewhat yet we haue of *Mulmutius*, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had beene torne with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these daies is able to determine.

Mulmutius. (4)

[¹p. 173]

Bladudus, who
made a ridicu-
lous end.

⁴ Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his subiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of *Bladudus*, and yet I read of none that made so ridiculous an end: in like fort there hath not

¹ On the practical evils of the Law, &c. &c., as administered before and about 1542, see Henry Brinklow's most interesting *Complaint*, E. E. Text Soc., Extra Series, 1874.

² In the 1577 edition, this chapter is the 3rd of book 3.

³ then

reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whose waies were more feared at the first, than those of Dunwallon (king Henrie the first excepted) and yet in the end he prooued such a prince, as after his death there was in maner no subiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, seuere administration of iustice, and prouident framing of his lawes and constitutions, [for the gouernment of his subiects]. His people also, coueting to continue his name vnto posteritie, intituled those his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of *Mulmutius*, which indured in execution among the Britons, so long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward, when the [comeling] Saxons had once obtained the superioritie of the kingdom, the maiestie of those¹ lawes fell for a time into such decaie, that although *Non penitus cecidit, tamen potuit cecidisse videri*, as *Leland* saith; and the decrees² themselves had vtterlie perished in deed at the verie first brunt, had they not bene preferued in Wales, where they remained amongst the reliques of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the coming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the first, who obtaining the souereigntie of that portion, indeuoured [verie earnestlie] to extinguish those of *Mulmutius*, and to establish his owne.

But as the Saxons at their first arriual did what they could to abolish the British lawes, so in proceſſe of time they yeelded a little to relent, & not so much to abhorre and mislike of the lawes of *Mulmutius*, as to receiue³ and imbrace the same, especiallie at such time as the [said] Saxon princes entered into amitie with the British nobilitie,⁴ and after that [began to] ioine in matrimonie with the British ladies, [as the British barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an especiall statute and decree, wherof in another treatise I haue made mention at large]. Heerof also it came to passe in the

The praise of Dunwallon. (5)

His people calld his ordinances the Lawes of Mulmutius.

They lasted while our homeling Britons held our Ile, till the comeling Saxons won it,

were preserv'd in Wales till

Edward I conquer'd it,

and gradually in part adopted by the Saxons when they marrid with the Britons,

¹ these

² lawes

³ re-receiue

⁴ Princes

as Ethelbert's,
Ina's, and Al-
fred's Laws
testify.

end, that they were contented to make a choise, and insert no small numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by those of Athelbert¹ the great, surnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred, kings of the west Saxons, and diuerse other yet extant to be seene. Such also was the lateward estimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make² new ordinances,² they caused those of *Mulmutius* (which *Gildas* sometime translated into Latine) to be [first] expounded vnto them; and in this perusall, if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might serue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the same, and annexed them to their owne.

King Alfred

had all the Laws
of Mulmutius

translated into
Saxon.

And the Nor-
mans, tho' at
first they dis-
lik't these laws,

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is most of all to be commended, who not onelie chose out the best, but gathered together all such whatsoever the said *Mulmutius* had made: and then to the end they should lie no more in corners as forlorne books, and vnknowne [to the learned of his kingdome,] he caused them to be turned into the Saxon toong, wherein they continued long after his decease.

yet at last took
many of them,
as St Edward's
laws,

As for the Normans, who [for a season] neither regarded the British, nor cared for the Saxon statutes,³ they also at the first vtterlie misliked of them; till at the last, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no stranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make such equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without some care &⁴ trouble, they fell in⁵ with such⁵ a desire to see by what rule the state of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing perused the same, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but also admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vied as principles and grounds), whereby they not onlie

¹ Atherbert ²⁻³ anye newe lawes ³ lawes ⁴ of. ⁵⁻⁵ so wyth

qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almost intollerable burden of seruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the shoulders of the English, but also left vs a great number of [the old] *Mulmutian* lawes whereof the most part are in vse to this daie, as I said, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to distinguish them from others, that are in strength amongst vs.

and many are in use to this day.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was *Martia*, whome *Leland* surnameth *Proba*; and after him *Iohn Bale* also, who in his *Centuries* dooth iustlie confesse himselfe to haue beene holpen by the said *Leland*, as I my selfe doo likewise for manie things contained in this treatise. Shee was wife vnto Gutteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir husbands deceasse in the nonage of hir sonne, and seeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, she deuised fundrie and those verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir subiects when she was dead and gone, did name the Martian statutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I doo not read, howbeit (as I said before of the lawes of *Mulmutius*) so the same Alfred caused those of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerse commend also for hir great knowledge in the Greeke toong) to be turned into his owne language; wherevpon it came to passe that they were dailie executed among his subiects, afterward allowed of (among the rest) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vse in these our¹ daies, notwithstanding that we cannot disseuer them [also] verie readilie from the other.

Martia. (6)

Leland helpt Bale, and so he did me.

Martia was the widow of King Gutteline of Britain,

and made very good laws, call'd the Martian Statutes.

These, Alfred

also translated into Saxon; and

they too are still in use.

The seuenth alteration of lawes was practised by the Saxons, for I ouerpasse the² vse of the ciuill ordinances vsed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, &

7th change of Law, by the Saxons.

¹ these

²—² lawes made by the Romaines, whose order do partly remaine in publike notice

Roman Civil
Law never fully
adopted here.

Martian¹ law.

Saxon law.

Dane law

Dane Law the
worst.

In old time the
Prince's will
was law, and
there was no
fixt place for
dispensing
justice

or making laws.

The Saxon law
of Ordeal, or

[s p. 178]

trial by Fire or
Water.

yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the feuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of these later, which yet remaine in sound knowledge, and are to be read, being comprehended for the most part ² vnder the names of the Martian ¹ and the Saxon law. Beside these also I read of the Dane law, so that the people of middle England were ruled by the first, the west Saxons by the second; as Essex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, and part of Hertfordshire were by the third, of all the rest the most inequall and intollerable. [And as in these daies what soeuer the prince in publike assemblie commanded vpon the necessitie of his subiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: so none of them had appointed anie certeine place, wherevnto his people might repaire at fixed times for iustice, but caused them to resort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper person they would often determine their causes, and so make shortest worke, or else commit the same to the hearing of other, and so dispatch them awaie. Neither had they any house appointed to assemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Westminster. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Habam, Alfred at Woodstock and Wannetting, Athelstane in Excester, Grecklade, Feuertham, & Thundersleie, Canutus at Winchester, &c: other in other places, whereof this may suffice.]

Among other things also vsed in the time of the Saxons, it shall not be amisse to set downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither ² with them from beyond the seas [out of Scithia,] and vsed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltinesse. Certes it contained not an ordinarie proceeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we see practised in these daies; but a short dispatch & triall of

¹ mercian

the matter by fire or water, whereof at this present I will deliuer the circumstance, as I haue faithfullie translated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an imprinted¹ copie, latelie published by *M. Lambert*, [and] now extant to be read. [Neuerthelesse, as the Scythians were the first that vsed this practise, so I read that it was taken vp and occupied also in France in proceffe of time, yea and likewise in Grecia, as *G. Pachymerus* remembreth in the first booke of his historie (which beginneth with the empire of *M. Paleologus*) where he noteth his owne fight and vew in that behalfe. But what stand I herevpon?]

The Trial by Ordeal I'll describe from an old MS. and Mr Wm Lambard's 'APXAIONOMIA sive de priels Anglorum Legibus Libri.' 1568. (p. 220, &c.) ed. 1644.

The Ordalian (saith the aforefaid author) was a *[Ordalian law.]* certeine maner of purgation vsed two waies, wherof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution *[Fire.]* of that which was doone by fire, the partie accused should go a certeine number of pases, with an hot² iron in his hand, or else bare footed vpon certeine plough shares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was sometime of one pound weight, and then was it called single *Ordalium*, sometimes of three, and then named treble *Ordalium*, and whosoever did beare or tread on the same without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged guiltlesse, otherwise if his skin were scorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the trespasse whereof he was accused, [according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.]

The person accus'd held in hand, or walkt on, hot iron.

If scorcht, he was guilty.

There were in like sort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to say, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into some pond or huge vessell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a season, without wrestling or struggling for life, he was forthwith acquitted as guiltlesse of the fact wherof he was accused: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by con-

Ordeal by *[Water.]*

The accus'd person was tumbld into a pond.

If he struggl'd or pufft, he was guilty.

¹ prynted

² hote peece of

Trial by Ordeal
of hot Water.

Nobles tried by
Fire;

Husbandmen
by Water.

King John

stopt it all as
flat humbug.

The Procedure
in Ordeal by
Fire:

1. Accusation.
2. Three days' Fasting.
3. Priest takes the iron in tongs, sings a hymn;

4. carries the iron to the fire,

and asks a blessing on the place;

demned as guiltie of the crime. Or else he did thrust his arme vp to the shoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of seething water, from whence if he withdrew the same without anie maner of damage, he was discharged of further molestation: otherwise he was taken for a trespasser, and punished accordingly. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and such as were free borne: but the husbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Whereof to shew the vnlarned dealing and blind ignorance of those times, it shall not be impertinent to set forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king John, who seeing the manifold subtilties in the same [(by sundrie forcerous and artificiall practises whereby the working of the said elements were restrained)] did extinguish it altogether as flat lewdnesse and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatise entereth thus: *Here beginneth the execution of iustice, whereby the gillie or vngillie are tried by hot iron.* Then it followeth: *After accusation lausfullie made, and three daies spent in fasting and praier, the priest being clad in all his holie vestures, sauing his vestiment, shall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and singing the hymne of the three children, that is to saie, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine Benedicite omnia opera, &c: he shall carie it solemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpose) and first saie these words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation shall be made in Latine as insueth: Benedic Domine Deus locum istum, vt sit nobis in eo sanitas, sanctitas, castitas, virtus, & victoria, & sanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & spiritui sancto. Hæc benedictio sit super hunc locum, & super omnes habitantes in eo.* In English: *Blesse thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holinesse, chastitie, vertue, and victorie, purenesse, humilitie, goodnesse, gentlenesse, and fulnesse*

of the law, and obedience to God the father, the sonne, and the holie ghost. This blessing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. *Then followeth the blessing of the fire.*

*Procedure in
Ordeal by Fire.*

Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante sanctificatum est, qui illuminasti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) ut ab eo lumine accendamus igne claritatis tuæ. Et sicut igne illuminasti Moysen, ita nunc illumina corda nostra, & sensus nostros, ut ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Christum, &c. Lord God father almighty, light euerlasting, heare vs, sith thou¹ art the maker of all lights. Bless O Lord this light, that is already sanctified in thy sight, which hast lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the same light we may be lightned with the shining of thy brightnesse. As thou diddest lighten Moses, so now illuminate our hearts, and our senses, that we may deserue to come to euerlasting life, through Christ our, &c. *This being ended, let him say the Pater noster, &c: then these words: Saluum fac seruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Dominus vobiscum, &c. That is, O Lord saue thy seruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, [&c.] Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.*

*5. asks a
blessing on the
Fire:*

*6. says other
Prayers;*

The praier. Benedic Domine sancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem sanctissimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum spiritus paracleti, ad manifestandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, ut sit sanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falsitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifesta fiat, per eundem Dominum, &c. In *English*: Bless we beseech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlasting God, through the inuocation of thy most holie name, by the

*7. prays that
the Iron*

Procedure in
Ordeal by Fire.

may manifest
God's
Judgment;

8. puts the iron
in the fire;

9. goes to Mass,

and gives the
Host to the
accus'd man.

comming of thy sonne, and gift of the holie ghost, and to the manifestation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practises of the diuels vtterlie remoued, the manifest truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the same Lord Iesus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and sprinkled with holie water, and whilest it heateth, let the priest go to masse, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the host, he shall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) first adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.

The office of the masse.

The Mass
Service.

Iustus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iust, &c.

The Praier.

Prayer for the
man accus'd.

*A*bsolue quæsumus Domine delicta famuli tui, ut à peccatorum suorum nexibus, quæ pro sua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iustitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis censuram peruenire mereatur, per Christum Dominum, &c. That is: Pardon we beseech thee O Lord, the sinnes of thy seruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenses, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (so far as he hath deserued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Christ our Lord, &c.

The Gospel.

The Gospell. Mar. 10.

What shall I do
to possess
eternal life?

[p. 179]

*I*n illo tempore, cum egressus esset Iesus in via, procurrens quidam genu flexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magister bone, quid faciam ut vitam æternam percipiam? Iesus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In those daies when Iesus went forth toward his iourneie, and one meeting him in the waie running, and kneeling

vnto him, asked him faieng: Good master what shall I doo that I may possesse eternall life? Iesus said vnto him, Whie callest thou¹ me good? &c. *Then followeth the secret, and so foorth all of the rest of the mass.* But before the partie dooth communicate, the priest shall vse these words vnto him: *Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & spiritum sanctum, & per veram christianitatem quam suscepisti, & per sanctas reliquias quæ in ista ecclesia sunt, & per baptismum quo te sacerdos regenerauit, vt non præsumas vlllo modo communicare, neque accedere ad altare, si hoc fecisti aut consensisti, &c.* I adiure thee by the father, the sonne, and the holie Ghost, by the true christendome which thou hast receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptisme wherewith the priest hath regenerated thee, that thou presume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou hast doone or consented vnto this, whereof thou art accused, &c. *Here let the priest suffer him to communicate, faieng; Corpus hoc, & sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sit tibi ad probationem hodie.* This bodie & this bloud of our Lord Iesus Christ, be vnto thee a triall this daie. *The praier: Perceptis Domine Deus noster sacris muneribus, supplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio sacramenti à proprijs nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis sententiam declaret, &c.* Hauing receiued O Lord God these holie mysteries, we humblie beseech thee that the participation of this sacrament may rid vs of our guiltinesse, and in this thy seruant set foorth the truth. *Then shall follow Kyrieleson, the Letanie, and certeine Psalmes, and after all them Oremus: Let vs praie. Deus qui per ignem signa magna ostendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibusdā pereuntibus eruisi, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conspectum Moysi & minime comburi permisisti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis plerisque succensis, tres pueros tuos illæfos eduxisti,*

Procedure in
Ordeal by Fire.

The Mass
Service.

The Priest to
adjure the
accus'd not to
receiue the
Sacrament if
he's guilty.

*The cup yet
in use.*

The last Prayer,
that the Fire
may test the
accus'd's guilt
or innocence.

Procedure in
Ordeal by Fire.

The last Prayer
Engleht,

that the Fire

may prove the
accus'd guilty
or innocent.

Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loti famulum tuum cum suis salute donasti, Deus qui in aduentu sancti spiritus tui, illustratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuisti: ostende nobis in hoc prauitatis nostræ examine virtutem eiusdem spiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem discernere infideles, ut à tactu eius cuius inquisitio agitur, conscius exhorrescat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæsus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam secreta effugiunt, fidei nostræ tua bonitate responde, & præsta ut quisquis purgandi se gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel atfoluatur ut innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c. In English thus

O God, which in shewing great tokens by fire diddest deliuer Abraham thy seruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whilest other perished; O God which sufferedst the bush to burne in the sight of Moses, and yet not to consume; O God which deliueredst the three children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whilest diuerse were consumed; O God which by fire didst wrap the people of Sodome in their destruction, and yet sauedst Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the shining of thy brightnesse at the comming of the holie ghost in likenesse¹ of fire, diddest separate the faithfull from such as beleeued not: shew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickednesse, the power of the same spirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire discerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whose cause is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or, being innocent, that he may remaine in safetie, &c. O God from whom no secrets are hidden, let thy goodnesse answer to our faith, and grant that whosoever in this purgation, shall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reuealed as an offendor, &c. After this the priest shall sprinkle the iron with holie water, saieing: The blessing of God the father, the

¹ likewise

sonne, and the holie ghost, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iust iudgement of God. *And fourth with let him that is accused beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and sealed vp for the space of three daies : after this if any corruption or raw flesh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie : if it be whole and found, let him giue thanks to God.* And thus much of the fire *Ordeal*, wherevnto that of the water hath so precise relation, that in setting forth of the one, I haue also described the other, wherefore it shall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall.

Ordeal by Fire.

10. The accus'd man to carry the hot iron for 9 feet.

If, after 3 days, his hand's raw, he's guilty

Ordeal by

[Water,]

just the same.

Hitherto also (as I thinke) sufficientlie of such lawes as were in vse before the conquest. Now it resteth that I should declare the order of those, that haue beene made [and receiued] since the comming of the Normans, [referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto doo produce three score and foure seuerall courts.] But for asmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little skill to proceed in the same accordinglie, it shall suffice to set downe some generall discourse of such as are vsed in our daies, and so much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-saie.

So much for our Laws before the Conquest.

Of those after it,

producing 64 Courts,

I shall only give a general account.

We haue therefore in England fundrie lawes, and first of all the ciuill, vsed in the chancerie, Admiraltie, and diuerse other courts, in some of which, the seuerer rigor of iustice is often so mitigated by conscience, that diuerse things are thereby made easie and tollerable, which otherwise would appeare to be meere iniurie and extremitie.

[Ciwill law] in the Admiralty and other Courts.

We haue also a great part of the Canon law dailie practised among vs, especiallie in cases of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and such like, as are vsuallie to be scene in the consistories of our biishops [and higher courts of the two archbishop,] where the exercise of the same is verie hotlie followed. The third sort of

[Canon law] in tithes and marriage cases.

Our own laws,
which often
change.

lawes that we haue¹ are our owne, & those alwaies fo variable, & subiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerse iudgements doo passe vpon one maner of case, whereby the saieng of the poet,

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,

[Lawiers of
England and
alwaies con-
stant in iudge-
ment.]

may verie well be applied vnto such; as being vrged with these words. In such a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for sound law; doo answer nothing else, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, so that they saie farre otherwise. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon [three lawes, to wit,] Statute law, Common law, Customarie law, and Prescription, [according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an assise, or wager of battell, of which the last is little vsed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the first and last reheard. Bat to returne to my purpose.]

We haue 3
Lawes:
1. Statute,
2. Common,
3. Customary.

Parlement: Com.

The first is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court [being for the most part holden at Westminster neere London.] is the highest of all other, & consisteth of three feuerall sorts of people, that is to saie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not summoned, but vpon vrgent occasion when the pence dooth see his time, and that by feuerall writs, dated commonlie full six weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agreed vpon in the higher house by the lords spirituall and temporall, and in the lower house by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the continuation of the cleargie holden in Bowles, for occasion to require in Westminster church, is a member) there speaking by the mouth of the knights of the shire and burgedes, remaine in the end to be confirmed by the prince, who commonlie receiued to this yet continue, vpon the first and last

Parlement
consists of
Nobility,
Cherch, and
Commons

The continuation
of the cleargie in
part of
Parlement

174. 100

daies of this court, there to vnderstand what is doone, and giue his roiall consent to such statutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher house, and hauing taken his throne, the speaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to betweene the houses, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the said three estates, and then craueth the princes consent and [finall] confirmation to the same. The king hauing heard the summe and principall points of each estatute brieflie recited vnto him, answereth in French with great deliberation vnto such as he liketh (*Il nous plaiſt*) but to the rest *Il ne plaiſt*, whereby the latter are¹ made void and frustrate. That also which his maiestie liketh of, is [hereby authorized, confirmed, &] euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like assemblie. The number of the commons assembled in the lower house, beside the cleargie, consisteth of ninetie knights. For each shire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greatest wisdom and reputation, chosen out of the bodie of the same for that onelie purpose, sauing that for Wales one onlie is supposed sufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewise fourtie and six citizens, 289 burgesſes, and fourteene barons, so that the whole assemblie of the laitie of the lower house consisteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine persons, if the iust number be supplied. Of the lawes here made likewise some are penall and restrain the common law, and some againe are found to enlarge the same. The one sort of these also are for the most part taken stricte according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

The Common law standeth vpon fundrie maximes or principles, and yeares or termes, which doo continue

Statute Law.

The King allows or disallows the Bills passed by both Houses of Parliament,

and those allowed become Law.

90 Knights of the Shire, or County Members.

[Number of congregates in the parlement.]

Each Welsh county has only 1 Member.

The whole House of Commons numbers 499.

Common law.

¹ are utterly

Common Law. such cafes as by great studie and folemne argument of the iudges [found practife confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the courfe of moft ancient lawes made farre before the conquest,] and thereto the deepeft reach and foundations of reafon, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes thefe cafes are otherwife called plees or action, wherof there are two forts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and meffengers alfo to determine thofe cafes are our writs [or breefes,] whereof there are fome originall and fome iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant, when they appeare, proceed (if the cafe doo fo require) by plaint or declaration, [barre or] answer, replication,¹ reioinder, and fo [by rebut, furrebut] to iffue [and triall if occafion fo fall out,] the one fide affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie [as common experience teacheth.] Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confeffion or default, wherein if auie negligence or trespaffe hath beene committed, either in proceffe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieved may haue a writ of errour to vndoo the fame, but not in the fame court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Customarie law. Customarie law confifteth of certeine laudable cuftomes vfed in fome priuat countrie, intended firft to begin vpon good and reasonable confiderations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children [equallie] to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: [where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where elfe in England. It was at the firft deuifed by the Römans, as appeareth by *Cæfar* in his commentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males, which holdeth fill in England) should haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongst them. By this meanes alfo it came to paffe, that whereas before time for the fpace

¹ replication and

All the male children share equally the father's realty.

As Gavelkind in Kent.

of fixtie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the space of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax so feeble, and such discord fell out amongst themselves, that they were not able to mainteine warres with the Romans, nor raise anie iust armie against them. For as a riuer runing with one streame is swift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: so the lands and goods of the ancestors being disperfed amongst their issue males, of one strong, there were raised fundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall strength to resist the aduersarie, became infeeble and brought almost to nothing. *Vis unita* (saith the philosopher) *fortior est eadem dispersa*, and one good purse is better than manie euill; and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will seeke to mainteine his priuate estate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.]

Division of
inheritances
weakened
Kentishmen.

Union is
strength.

¹ Burrow kind, is ¹ where the yoongest is preferred before the eldest, which is the custome of manie countries of this region: [also the woman to haue the third of hir husbands possessions, the husband that marieth an heire to haue such lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he suruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath beene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c:] of ² such like to be learned elsewhere, [and sometimes frequented generallie ouer all.]

Borough-Eng-
lish.
The youngest
son is his
father's heir.

Prescription is a certaine custome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than customarie law, as where onelie a parish or some priuat person dooth prescribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans foile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwise than the common course and order of the law requireth, whereof let this suffice at this time, in steed of a larger discourse of our owne lawes, least I should seeme to enter farre into that

Prescription.

as of rights of
common and
way.

¹—¹ or Burrow kind

² and so forth of

whereof I haue no skill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to doo with anie precise knowledge of the law of man, sith they are seuerall trades, and incident to diuerse persons?

Courts held
quarterly, every

Termes.

Generally at
London.

Many lawsuits.

All the money
in the land
flows to the
lawyers.

And they'll be
richer if their
clients don't get
wiser.

Once, lawyers
sat in St Paul's
on stools to get
clients; now
they want £10
to come to
Guildhall.

[p. 181]

There are also sundrie vsuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all controuerfies are determined, that happen within the Queenes dominions. These are commonlie holden at London, except vpon some great occasion they be transferred to other places. At what times also they are kept [both for spirituall and temporall dealing,] the table infuing shall easilie declare. Finallie, how well they are followed by sutors, the great wealth of¹ lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie² expresse. [For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the start, and after them the cleargie: so now all the wealth of the land dooth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome, some one hauing practised little aboue thirteene or fourteene yeares is able to buie a purchase of so manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they wax rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiser & warie hereafter. It is not long, since a fergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arrested vpon an extent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another standing by did greatlie maruell that he could not spare the gaines of one terme for the satisfaction of that dutie. The time hath beene that our lawiers did sit in Powles vpon stooles against the pillars and walles to get clients, but now some of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds, or twentie nobles at the least. And one being demanded why he made so much of³ his trauell, answered, that it was but follie for him to go so farre, when he was assured to get more monie by sitting still at home. A friend of mine also had a sute

¹ of our

² easily

of late of some valure, and to be sure of counsell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whose names I forbear to deliuer) twentie shillings a peece, telling them of the daie and houre wherein his matter should be called vpon. To be short, they came not vnto the barre at all, whervpon he staied for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increased his former gifts by so much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe serued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall doore, and after some timorous reprehension, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he bestowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, wherevpon they promised peremptorilie to speake earnestlie in his cause. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet sucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a scroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he spake not aboue three or foure words, almost so soone vttered as a 'good morrow,' and so went from the bar; and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counsellours did seeme to take of his cause, then standing vpon the hazard. But inough of these matters, for if I should set downe how little law poore men can haue for their small fees in these daies, and the great murmurings that are on all sides vttered against their excessiue taking of monie (for they can abide no small gaine) I should extend this treatise into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpose. Wherefore it shall suffice to haue set downe so much of their demeanour, and so much as is euen enough to cause them to looke with somewhat more confidence into their dealings, except they be dull and senselesse.]

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected fundrie courts, especiallye of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the ease of poore men dwelling in those

A friend of mine gave 2 lawyers 20s. each to plead his cause.

[*Deceit.*]

Neither came. So he gave 'em another 20s. each. Again neither came.

So he gave each 3 angels more.

And then one Lawyer still wouldn't come, but

the other said 3 or 4 words for him.

[*Manie of our lawiers stoop not at small fees.*]

I hope I've said enough of Lawyers' tricks to make 'em more conscientious.

Some provincial Courts have been set up, at York, Ludlow, &c.,

[*Poore men
contentious.*]

but men will
come to London
for their law.

Welshmen's love
of law.

They'll walk
bare-legd to
London, with
their hose round
their necks, and
beg money to
sue out 6 or 7
writa.

*3 Promooters
seek matters
to set lawyers
on worke
withall.³*

*3 Rascally Essex
Lawyers: Denis
and Mainford;
and John of
Ludlow, or
Mason, the
worst of the 3.*

parts, yet will the poorest (of all men commonlie most contentious) refuse to haue his cause heard so neere home, but indeuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there soonest to preuaile against his aduersarie, though his case be neuer so doubtfull. But in this toie our Welshmen doo exceed of all that euer I heard, for you shall here and there haue some one od poore Dauid of them giuen so much to contention and strife, that without all respect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hosen on his necke (to saue their feet from wearing) bicause he hath no change. When he commeth there also, he will make such importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard shift otherwise, that he will sometimes carie downe fix or feuen writs [with him] in his purffe, wherewith to molest his neighbor, though the greatest quarrell be scarcelie worth the fee¹ that he [hath] paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, leaft in reuealing the superfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my selfe amongst the wisest of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable case to see furthermore, how a number of poore men are dailie abused and vtterlie vndoone, by sundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as [promoters or] brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle [and espie] coales of contention, whereby the one side may reape commoditie, and the other [spend and] be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Essex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Ludlow, *aliàs* Mafon, came in place, vnto whome in comparifon they two were but children: ³ for this last³ in lesse than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie else-where in other places) almost to extreame miserie (if beggerie be the vttermost) that⁴

¹ price

²⁻³ Three Varlettes worthie to be chronicled.

³⁻³ and babes for he

⁴ who

before he had the shauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I speake with the leaft¹) and² finallie feeling that he had not sufficient wherewith to fusteine himselfe and his familie, and also to satifishe that greedie rauencour, which still called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and pensiuenesse. After his death also he so handled his sonne, that there was neuer sheepe shorne in Maie, so neere clipped of his fleece present, as he was of manie to come: so that he was compelled to let awaie his³ land, bicause his cattell & stocke were consumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this suffice, & in steed of these enormities, ⁴a table⁴ shall ⁵follow of the termes containing their beginnings and endings,⁵ as I haue borrowed them from⁶ my freend *John Stow*,⁷ whose studie is the onelie store house of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.⁷

[A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the same to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Westminster, and finallie the great expenses employed vpon the same, should be no small cause of the staie and hinderance of the administration of iustice in this land: but as it falleth out, they prooue great occasions and the staie of much contention. The reasons of these are soone to be conceiued, for as the broken sleeue dooth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cause manie to sit at home in quiet; so the shortnesse of time and feare of delaie dooth driue those

That scamp of a lawyer, John Mason, so ruind a man I knew, worth £200,

that he died from grief.

Then Mason shorn his son closer than any sheep clippt in May.

Now for a list of Law-Terms, got from my friend JOHN Stow.

[The times of our termes no hinderance to iustice.]

The broken sleeve holds the elbow back.

¹ best

² who

³ lease land

⁴—⁴ two tables

⁵—⁵ insue, whereof the first shall containe the names of the Countyes, Cities, Borowes and Portes, which send knightes, Burgeses and Barons to the Parliament house, the other an infallible report of the beginnings and endes of euery tearme with their returnes, according to the maner

⁶ of

⁷—⁷ whylest this impression was in hande

The shortness of
Law-Terms and
the cost of Law
stop suits.

oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwise would liue at strife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men desirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made shorter, that more delaie might ingender longer sute; other would haue the houses made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to minister the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too short than too long by one returne a peece: so if there were smaller roomes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pawles before they did rashlie enter into plee. But sith my purpose is not to make an ample discourse of these things, it shall suffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which insueth after this manner.]¹

Law-Terms,
from JOHN
Stow.

A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

Hilary.

Hilary terme beginneth the three and twentieth daie of Ianuarie (if it be not fundae) otherwise the next daie after, and ² is finished ² the twelue of Februarie, it ³ hath foure returnes.

{ Octabis Hilarij. }	{ Crastino Purific. }
{ Quind. Hilarij. }	{ Octabis Purific. }

Easter.

¶ Easter terme beginneth seuentene daies after Easter,⁴ endeth foure daies after the Ascension daie, and hath fise returnes.

{ Quind. Pasch. }	{ Mense }	{ Quinque Paschæ. }
{ Tres Paschæ. }	{ Paschæ. }	{ Crast. Ascention. }

Trinity.

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the ⁵ fridaie after Trin-

¹ In the 1577 ed. here follows the list of members of parliament given in the preceding chapter.

²—² endeth

³ and

⁴ Easter and

⁵—⁵ next daye after Corpus Christi daye

itie fundae,⁵ and endeth the wednesdaie fortnight after,
¹ in which time it¹ hath foure returnes.

{	Craft. Trinitatis.	}	{	Quind. Trinitatis.	}
{	Octabis Trinitatis.	}	{	Tres Trinitatis.	}

¶ Michaelmasse terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not fundae) and ending² the eight and
³ twenuth of Nouember, it⁴ hath eight returnes.

Michaelmas
Term.

[³ p. 182]

{	Octabis Michael.	}	{	Craft. anima.	}
{	Quind. Michael.	}	{	Craft. Martini.	}
{	Tres Michael.	}	{	Octa. Martini.	}
{	Menſe Michael.	}	{	Quind. Martini.	}

Note also that the eschequer, [which is *Fiscus* or
ararium publicum principis,] openeth eight daies before
 anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth
 but foure daies before.

The Exchequer
opens 8 days
before each
Term, except
Trinity Term.

⁵ And thus much for our vsuall termes as they are
 kept for the administration of our common lawes,
 wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accuf-
 tomable holden in⁵ the arches and audience of Cantur-
 burie, with other ecclesiasticall and ciuill courts⁶ thorough
 the whole yeare,⁷ or for somuch time as their execution
 indureth (which in comparifon is scarſelie one halfe of
 the time if it be diligentlie examined), to the end, each
 one at home being called vp to answer, may trulie know
 the time of his appearance; being forie in the meane
 season, that the vse of the popish calendar is so much
 retained in the same, and not rather the vsuall daies of
 the moneth placed in their roomes, sith most of them
 are fixed, and palter not their place of standing. How-
 beit some of our infected lawiers will not let them go
 awaie so easilie, pretending facilitie and custome of
 vsage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to keepe a

I shall add the
Law-days of the
Archies and
other ecclesiastical
and civil
Courts.

The Popish
Calendar is too
much kept in
them.

¹—¹ and

² endeth

⁴ and

⁵—⁵ And nowe followeth the lawe dayes in the Court of

⁶ lawes

⁷—⁷ These dayes are not chaunged except they lyght on a Sunday or holy daye,
 and euery day is called a lawday, unlesse it be Sunday or holyday.

commemoration of those dead men whose names are there remembred.⁷

Feasts in Michaelmas Term,

Michaelmas terme.

{	S. Faith.	}	{	All Soules.	}	{	S. Andrew.	}
{	S. Edward.	}	{	S. Martin.	}	{	Conception	}
{	S. Luke.	}	{	Edmund.	}	{	of ¹ the virgin	}
{	Simon & Iu.	}	{	Katherine.	}	{	Marie. ¹	}

on the 1st day after each of which the Arches Court is held in Bow Church, and the Admiralty Court in Southwark.

¶ It is to be remembred² that the first daie following euerie of these feasts noted in each³ terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the same first daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill [and seafaring] causes kept in Southwarke, [where iustice is ministred & execution doone continuallie according to the fame.]

On the 2nd day after, the Canturbury Audience and Prerogative Courts are held.

The second daie following euerie one of the said feasts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the consistorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the selfe⁴ daie in the afternoone, in the same place is the prerogative court of Canturburie holden.

On the 3rd day after, the Bp of London's Consistory Court is held, and the Appeal Commissioners' Court.

The third day after anie such feast in the forenoone, the consistorie court of the bishop of London is kept in Paules church in the [said] consistorie, and the same third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and [the court] of the Queenes highnesse commissioners vpon appeales [is likewise] kept in the same place [on the fourth daie.]

Hilarie terme.

{	S. Hilarie.	}	{	S. Scolastic.	}	{	S. Chad.	}
{	S. Wolstan.	}	{	S. Valentine	}	{	Perpet. & Fel.	}
{	Conuerfion	}	{	Ashwednes. ⁵	}	{	S. Gregorie.	}
{	of S. Paule.	}	{	S. Matthe.	}	{	Annūciation	}
{	S. Blase.	}				{	of our Ladie.	}

Note that the foure first daies of this terme be cer-

¹—¹ our Lady.
⁴ same

² noted
⁵ Ashwednesd

³ euerie

teine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the course of the yeare, and sometime kept and sometime omitted. For if it so happen that one of those feasts fall on wednesdaie, commonlie called Ashwednesdaie after the daie of S. Blase (so that the same lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie cannot be kept bicause the lawdaie of the other feast dooth light on the same) then the second lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie shall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Ashwednesdaie ¹ be the next daie after the feast of S. Blase, then shall all and euerie ² court daies be obserued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke, ³that although ³ Ashwednesdaie be put the seuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the course of Easter caueth it.

The 4 first days of Hilary terme are fixt, but the others are changeable.

Easter terme.

The fifteenth daie after Easter.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{S. Alphege.} \\ \text{S. Marke.} \\ \text{Inuention of} \\ \text{the croffe.} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Gordian.} \\ \text{S. Dunstan.} \\ \text{Ascension daie.} \end{array} \right\}$
---	---

¶ In this terme the first fitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fifteenth daie after Easter, and so fourth after the feasts here noted, which next follow by course of the yeare after Easter, and the like space being kept betweene other feasts.

In Easter Terme the 1st sitting is on the 15th day after Easter.

The rest of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Ascension, which is the last day of this terme. And if it happen that the feast of the Ascension of our Lord doo come before anie of the feasts aforesaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewise if anie of those daies come before the fifteenth of Easter, those daies are omitted also.

¹ that Wednesday

² euerie those

³—³ although that

Trinitie terme.

(Trinitie fundae.)	(S. Butolph.)	(S. Swithune.)
(Corpus Chrifii.)	(S. Iohn.)	(S. Margaret.)
(Boniface bish.)	(S. Paule.)	(S. Anne.)
(S. Barnabie.)	(Tranflat. Thomas.)	

In Trinitie Terme
the 1st and 2nd
sittings are on
the 1st Law-days
after the Feasts
of the Trinitie,
and Corpus
Christi.

[Here] note [also] that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitfuntide, and the first sitting is kept alwaies on the first lawdaie after the feast of the holie Trinitie, and the second session is kept the first lawdaie after [the idolatrous and papistickall feast daie called] *Corpus Christi*, except *Corpus Christi* daie fall on some day aforenamed: which chanceth sometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the second session, account foure daies or thereabout, and then looke which is the next feast day, and the first lawdaie after the said feast shall be the third session. The other lawdaies follow in order, but so manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare shall be thought meet.

All days not
Sundays or
Holy days, are
Law-days.

¹ It is also generallie to be obserued,¹ that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not fundae or holie daie: and that if the feast daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the first or second daie following be fundae, then the court daie is kept the daie after the said holie daie or feast.

Of prouision made for the poore.

Chap. 10.²

The Poor are
everywhere,
and the Rich
must relieve
them.

Here is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherein there is not great store of poore people, and those necessarilie to be relieved by the welthier sort, which otherwise would

¹—¹ And note generally

² In the 1577 ed. this chapter forms the 5th of Book 3.

flarue and come to vtter confuson. With vs, the poore is commonlie diuided into three forts, so that some are poore by impotencie, as the fatherlesse child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diseased person that is iudged to be incurable: the second are poore by casualtie, as the wounded souldier, the decayed housholder, and the sicke person visited with grievous and painefull¹ diseases: the third consisteth of thriftlesse poore, as the riotour that hath consumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were seeking worke and finding none), and finallie the roge and strumpet, which are not possible to be diuided in funder, [but runne too and fro ouer all the realme, cheefelie keeping the champaine foiles in summer, to auoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter, to eschew the blustering winds.]

Three sorts
of poore.

1. by impotency,

2. by casualty,

3. by thriftles-
ness (rioters,
vagabonds,

rogues, and
strumpets).

² For the first two forts,³ that is to saie, the poore by [2 p. 183]

¹ incurable

³ See the interesting account in *Holinshed*, iii. 1081-2, of how the good young king Edward VI., mov'd by a sermon of Bp Ridley's, talkt with him about means for relieving the poor, and on his suggestion resolv'd to begin with those of London, and wrote to the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Dobs, about it. Dobs, Ridley, 2 aldermen, and 6 commoners, got-up a committee of 24. "And in the end, after sundrie meetings (for by meane of the good diligence of the bishop it was well followed,) they agreed vpon a booke that they had deuised, wherein first they considered of nine speciall kinds and sorts of poore people, and those same they brought in these three degrees:

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| Three degrees of poore | { | The poore by impotencie. |
| | { | Poore by casualtie. |
| | { | Thriftlesse poore. |
| 1. The poore by impotencie are also diuided into three kinds, that is to saie: | { | 1. The fatherlesse poore mans child. |
| | { | 2. The aged, blind, and lame. |
| | { | 3. The diseased person, by leprosie, dropsie, &c. |
| 2. The poore by casualtie are of three kinds, that is to saie: | { | 4. The wounded souldier. |
| | { | 5. The decayed housholder. |
| | { | 6. The visited with greenous disease. |
| 3. The thriftles poore are three kinds in like wise that is to saie: | { | 7. The riotor that consumeth all. |
| | { | 8. The vagabond that will abide in no place. |
| | { | 9. The idle person, as the strumpet and others. |

For these sorts of poore were provided three seuerall houses. First for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the beggers child, and is in deed the seed and breeder of beggerie, they provided the house that was late Graie friers in London

For the true
Poor, whom
Christ bids us
feed, weekly
collections are
made through-
out the land

so that they
need not roam
about.
But if they like
best to roam,

then they get
whipt.

impotencie, and the poore by casuallie, which are the¹ true poore in deed, and for whome the word dooth bind vs to make some dailie prouision, there is order taken through out euerie parish in the realme, that weekelie collection shall be made for their helpe and sustentation, to the end they should not scatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both towne and countrie. Authoritie also is giuen vnto the iustices in euerie countie, and great penalties appointed for such as make default, to see that the intent of the statute in this behalfe be trulie executed, according to the purpose and meaning of the same, so that these two sorts are sufficientlie prouided for: and such as can liue within the limits of their allowance, (as each one will doo that is godlie and well disposed,) may well forbear to come and range about.² But if they refuse to be supported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour, by going to and fro, to mainteine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third sort, and so, in steed of courteous refreshing at home, are often corrected with sharpe execution, and whip of iustice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithstanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yeeld rather with this libertie (as they call it) to be dailie vnder the feare

and now is called Christes hospitall, where the poore children are trained in the knowledge of God, and some vertuous exercise to the ouerthrowe of beggerie. For the second degree, is prouided the hospitall of saint Thomas in Southworke. & saint Bartholomew in west Smithfield, where are continuallie at least two hundred diseased persons, which are not onelie there lodged and cured, but also fed and nourished. For the third degree, they prouided Bridewell, where the vagabond and idle strumpet is chastised, and compelled to labour, to the ouerthrow of the vicious life of idleness. They prouided also for the honest decayed housholder, that he should be relieued at home at his house, and in the parish where he dwelled, by a weekelie reliefe and pension. And in like manner they prouided for the lazer, to keepe him out of the citie from clapping of dishes, and ringing of bells, to the great trouble of the citizens, and also to the dangerous infection of manie, that they should be relieued at home at their houses with seuerall pensions."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1082. The rest of the page should be read about 'blessed king' Edward VI., and his thanking God that He'd given him life to finish 'this worke' of relief to the poor 'to the glorie of thy name': two days after, the good young king died."—F.

¹ there ye

² abroad

and terrour of the whip, than by abiding where they were borne or bred, to be provided for by the ¹ deuotion of the parishes.¹ I found not long since a note of these latter sort, the effect whereof insueth. Idle beggars are such, either through other mens occasion, or through their owne default. By other mens occasion (as one waie, for example), when some couetous man, [such I meane as haue the cast or right veine, dailie to make beggars inough wherby to pester the land,] espieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, dooth find such meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the same vnto his² priuate gaines. Herevpon it followeth, that although the wise and better minded [doo either forsake the realme for altogether, and seeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbarie, India, Moscouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no roome to be left for them at home,] doo so behaue themselves that they are worthilie to be accompted among the second sort; yet the greater part, commonlie hauing nothing to staie vpon, are wilfull; and therevpon doo either prooue idle beggars, or else continue starke theeves till the gallowes doo eat them vp, [which is a lamentable case. Certes in some mans iudgements these things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some also doo grudge at the great increase of people in these daies, thinking a necessarie brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken such men best of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practise the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermoſt, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlasting chaines, and the great gaines of the first, may continue and indure the longer. But if it should come to passe that any forren inuasion should be made,

Idle beggars are made by others' covetousness.

A thing often seene.

Which turns them out of their holdings.

At whose hands shall the blood of these men be required?

They have either to emigrate,

or turn idle beggars or stark theeves.

Some men think this a trifle.

Others grudge the increase of the people, thinking cattle more needed than men.

Such folk I liken to the Pope and the Devil, who try to keep down the number of God's Elect.

¹—¹ parish

² their

Against invasion, a wall of men is better than stacks of corn or bags of money.

which the Lord God forbid for his mercies sake!—then should these men find that a wall of men is farre better than stackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to seeke remedie. The like occasion caused the Romans to deuise their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceased to practise disturbance till it was quite abolished. But to proceed with my purpose.]

Idle beggars are so,

1. by casual means,

(having been respectable, and then degenerated into thriftless good-for-nothings;)

Such as are idle beggers¹ through their owne default, are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means, are [in the beginning] iustlie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thriftlesse sort, they doo what they can to continue their miserie, and, with such impediments as they haue, to straie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the

¹ Objection 2, sign. e. i. "I praie you shewe me by what occasion or meanes, this huge number of Beggars and Vacaboundes doe breede here in Englande. And why you appointe twelue of them to euery Shipp: I thinke they maie carie the Shippe awaie, & become Pirates. [Answer.] If you consider the pouerty that is and doth remaine in the Shire townes, and Market townes, within this Realme of England and Wales, which townes, being inhabited with greate store of poore householders, who by their pouertie are driuen to bring vp their youth idly; and if they liue vntill they come to mans state, then are they past all remedie to be brought to worke. Therefore, at suche tyme as their Parentes fayles them, they beginne to shifte, and acquainte them selues with some one like brought vppe, that hath made his shifte, with dieyng, cosenyng, picking or cutting of purses, or els, if he be of courage, plaine robbing by the waie side, which they count an honest shift for the time; and so come they daiely to the Gallows. Hereby growes the greate and huge number of Beggars and Vacaboundes, which by no reasonable meanes or lawes could yet be brought to worke, being thus idely brought vp. Whiche perilous state and imminent daunger that they now stande in, I thought it good to auoide, by placeyng twelue of these poore people into euery fishyng Shippe, accordyng to this Platte." 1580. *Robert Hitchcock's Politique Platt.*—F.

fame, from whence they will not be deliuered,¹ such is¹ their owne vngratious lewdnesse, and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosiuues, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies: and also laieng of ratbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like, vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull² and odious sores, and mouue [the harts of] the goers by such places where they lie, to³ yerne at³ their miserie, and therevpon bestow large almesse vpon them. [How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner coniure or adiure the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuerfant in the mouths of none; and yet the presence of the heuenlie maicstie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke that punishment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheeflie to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.]

2. by voluntary means, making horrible sores on themselves,

that the goers-by may pity them and give them large alms.

God is far from them.

They deserve punishment rather than alms.

Unto this nest⁴ is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which, hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet notwithstanding sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Diuerse times in their apparell also they will be like seruing men or laborers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariuers, and seeke for ships which they neuer lost. But in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillars in the commonwealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but licke the sweat from the true laborers browes, & beereue the godlie [poore] of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well-disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked⁵ & detestable maner.

Other sturdy beggars sham to be

seruing-men, labourers, or seamen.

Thieves and caterpillars in the commonwealth, who lick the sweat from the true workmen's browes!

¹—¹ throw ² pitious ³—³ lament ⁴ nest ⁵ wicked, horrible

This Beggar
trade began
but 60 yeares
ago; and now
we've 10,000 at
it.

And they've
invented
'Cunting' and
'Pedlers French'
too.

Of which the
first deviser was
hung.

Thomas
Harman.³
A Kentish gen-
tleman, has
expos'd their
rascally tricks,
and describ'd
three and
twenty sorts
of 'em.

It is not yet ¹full threescore yeares ¹since this trade began: but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge, for they are now supposed of one sex and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 persons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges,² they haue deuised a language among themselues, which they name '*Cunting*,' but other, '*pedlers French*,' a speach compact thirtie yeares since, of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselues are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke; a iust reward no doubt for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman also of late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rable. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth ⁴three & twentie ⁴sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, whereby ech one may ⁵take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie ⁵what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

Here are these
23 sorts of
Vagabonds.

*The feuerall diforders and degrees amongst
our idle vagabonds.*

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1 Rufflers, | 7 Palliards. |
| 2 Uprightmen. | 8 Fraters. |
| 3 Hookers or Anglers. | 9 Abrams. |
| 4 Roges. | 10 Freshwater mariners, |
| 5 Wild roges. | or whipiacks. |
| 6 Priggers ⁶ or pranfers. ⁶ | 11 Dummerers. |

(p. 184)

¹—¹ 50 yeares

² See the earliest known specimen of the Gipsy language, the "Egyptian roges" speech, in my edition of *Andrew Boorde*, E. E. T. Soc. Extra Series, 1870, p. 218.—F.

³ See the edition of his book and Awdeley's prior one, by Mr Viles and myself, in the Early English Text Society's Extra Series, 1869, No. IX.—F.

⁴—⁴ 22

⁵—⁵ gather

⁶—⁶ of prauicers

- 12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Jarkemen or patricoes.

¶ *Of women kind.*

- 1 Demanders for glimmar or fire.

- 2 Baudie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Doxes.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching cooes.

Thos. Harman's
33 sorts of
Vagabonds.

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must needs be martiall law,¹ to be exercised vpon them, as vpon theeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of [yong] children, ² burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people,³ I need not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or feffions of the peace), if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond, either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witneses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same.⁴ And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person woorth five pounds in the queenes books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in ⁴ recognif-

The Statutory
punishment of
em, tho' sharp,
isn't sharp
enough.

Martial law is
the only thing
for 'em.

Oh, what evils
they do!

If a rogue is
convicted of
being a
Vagabond,

the 1st time he's
whipt and burnt
thro' the right
ear with a $\frac{1}{2}$
inch hot iron,

unless a house-
holder 'll take
him into service
for 1 year.

¹ Law of the Marshal.—F.

² they doe use (which they disfigure o begg withal,

³ See my *Ballads from MSS.* i. 121-3, Ballad Soc.—F. ⁴ in a

On the 2nd conviction the Vagabond is whipt, bored thro' his other ear, and set to service.

If he runs away and is caught, he's kill'd.

Among Rogues, are Proctors with counterfeit licences,

Physiognomists, Fencers, Players, Minstrels, pretended Scholars,

and Bear-wards,

Every harbourer or helper of a Rogue

is fin'd 20s., or less.

ance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare.

If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare, and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a felon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons, finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, coofiners,¹ and such as gad² about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie and palmetrie, tellers of fortunes, fencers,³ plaiers, minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, [pretensed] schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. [From among which companie our beare wards are not excepted, and iust cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, beene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in fundrie countries by which they haue perished, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is & haue beene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges.] Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queenes maiestie for euerie time that he dooth⁴ so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue beene informed. And thus much of the poore, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

¹ Coofiners

² go

³ fencers, beaurwards,

⁴ shall

Of fundrie [kinds of] punishments

*appointed for malefactors.*Chap. 11.¹

[I N cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offender, is, to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vsed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vse; and yet so few greuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To vse torment also, or question by paine and torture, in these common cases, with vs is greatlie abhorred, sith we are found alwaie to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, choosung rather frankelie to open our minds, than to yeeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vsed in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons doo go so cheerefullie to their deaths, for our nation is free, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and blood, as sir *Thomas Smith* saith, *lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica*,² and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vsed as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuallie beating, seruitude, and seruile

Hanging is the English punishment for felony, &c.

Torture we don't use.

Our criminals go cheerfully to their deaths. Our nation is stout and haughty, and will not stand being us'd as villans and slaves.

¹ This forms chap. 6, Book III., in 1577 ed.

² "Confession by torment is esteemed for nothing, for if hee confesse at the iudgement, the tryall of the 12 goeth not vpon him; if hee deny the fact: that which he said before, hindreth him not. The nature of English-men is to neglect death, to abide no torment: and therefore hee will confesse rather to haue done anything, yea to haue killed his owne father, than to suffer torment: for death, our nation doth not so much esteeme as a meere torment. In no place shall you see malefactors goe more constantly, more assuredly, and with lesse lamentation to their death than in England. . . . The nature of our nation is free, stout, haughty, prodigall of life and blood: but contumely, beating, seruitude, and seruile torment, and punishment; it will not abide. So in this nature & fashion, our ancient Princes and legislators haue nourished them, as to make them stout-hearted, couragious, and souldiers, not villaines and slaues; and that is the scope almost of all our Policie."—Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth of England*, ed. 1621, p. 97, Book II., chap. 27 (not 25).—F.

torments.¹ No, our gailers are guiltie of fellonie, by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prifoner committed to their custodie, for the reuealing of his complices.]

Our most
grievous pun-
ishment is for
traitors, who're
drawn on a
hurdle, hangd
quartord
alive,

and their limbs
hackt off and
burnt.

But when
Nobles are
traitors,

only their heads
are chopt off.

Nobles are tried
by their peers ;
gentlemen by
gentlemen ;

The greatest and most greeuous punishment vsed in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing² from the prifon to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe, and quartered [aliue ;] after that, their members and bowels are cut from their bodies,³ and throwne into a fire provided neere hand and within [their owne] fight, euen for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespaffe be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason [by their peeres, that is to saie, equals, (for an inqueft of yeomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement,)] this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence doo run after the former order. In triall of cafes concerning treason, fellonie, or anie other greeuous crime [not confessed], the partie accused dooth yeeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by [an inqueft (as I haue said) and] his peeres : if a gentleman, by gentle-

¹ But see, 2 pages on, how felons who won't confess are pressed to death by heavy weights.—F.

² drawne

³ A.D. 1586. *Hol.* iii. 1434, col. 2. "On the one and twentieth daie of Ianuarie, two Seminarie preests (before arreigned and condemned) were drawne to Tiburne, and there *hanged, bowelled, and quartered*. Also on the same daie a wench was burnt in Smithfield, for *poisoning* of hir aunt and mistresse, and also attempting to haue doon the like to her vnle."—F.

A.D. 1677. "The thirtieth daie of Nouember, Cutbert Maine was *drawne, hanged, and quartered* at Lancelton in Cornewall for preferring Romane power. . . 1577-8. The third daie of Februarie, John Nelson, for denieng the queenes supremasie, and such other traitorous words against hir maicstie, was drawne from Newgate to Tiburne, and there *hanged, bowelled, and quartered*. And on the seuenth of the same moneth of Februarie, Thomas Sherwin was likewise drawne from the tower of London to Tiburne, and there *hanged, bowelled, and quartered* for the like offense."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1271, col. 1, l. 16, l. 47.—F.

men: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, [to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vse)] and being condemned of felonie, manslaughter, &c, he is eftsoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, [doone either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie,] he is either hanged alieue in chaines¹ neere the place where the fact was committed (or else, [vpon compassion taken,] first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. (We haue vse neither of the wheele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offender hath his right hand commonlie stricken off² before or neere vnto³ the place where the act was doone, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law. —

commoners by the yeomanry. Trial by battle is not much us'd.

Murderers are hang'd alive in chains, tho' sometimes first strangl'd with a rope.

Wheel or Bar is not us'd here.

A wilful manslaughterer has his right hand cut off before he's hung.

[The word felon is deriued of the Saxon words *Fell* and *One*, that is to say, an euill and wicked one, ³ a one of vntamable nature, and lewdnesse not to be suffered, for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like fort in] the ⁴ word felonie are manie greuous crimes contained, as breach of prison, *An.* 1. of Edward the second. Disfigurers of the princes liege people, *An.* 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and visors, *An.* 1. of Henrie the seuenth. Rape, or stealing of women & maidens, *An.* 3. of Henrie the eight. Conspiracie against the

'Fellon' is deriv'd from 'fell' and 'one.'

[³ p. 185]

Felony comprises many crimes.

¹ A.D. 1578-9. "The seuenteenth of Februarie, an Irishman, for murdering of a man in a garden of Stepenheth [= Stepney] parish, was *hanged in chaines* on the common called Mile end greene. This common was sometimes, yea, in the memorie of men yet liuing, a large mile long (from White chappell to Stepenbeth church), and therefore called Mile end greene; but now at this present, by greedie (and as seemeth to me, vnlawfull) inclosures, and building of houses, notwithstanding hir maiesties proclamation to the contrarie, it remaineth scarce halfe a mile in length."—*Hol.* iii. 1271, col. 2, l. 54-64.—F.

²—³ at

⁴ Under the

Felony (which
is punishable by
death) includes
these crimes :

stealing hawks'
eggs, conjuring,

propheying on
arms and
badges,

sweating coin,

stealing, rob-
bing,
cutting purses
(Sir John Fal-
staff !) stealing
deer by night
(Mr Wm Shak-
spere !)

perfon of the prince, *An.* 3. of Henrie the feuenth. Embefilling of goods committed by the mafter to the feruant, aboue the value of fourtie fhillings, *An.* 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horfes or mares into Scotland, *An.* 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie,¹ *An.* 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes eggs, *An.* 31. of Henrie the eight. Coniuring,² forcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of croffes, *An.* 33. of Hen. 8.³ Prophefieng vpon armes, cognifances, names & badges, *An.* 33. of Hen. 8. Cafting of slanderous bills, *An.* 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poifon, *An.* 1. of Edw. the fixt. Departure of a foldier from the field, *An.* 2. of Edward the fixt. Diminution of coine, all offenses within cafe of premunire, embefelling of records, goods taken from dead men by their feruants, stealing of what foeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the fea, or of dwelling houfes, letting out of ponds, cutting of purfes, stealing of deere by night, counterfeitors⁴ of coine,⁵ eui-

¹ A.D. 1540. "The eight and twentieth of Julie (as you have heard before,) the lord Cromwell was beheaded, and likewise with him the lord Hungerford of Heitesburie, who at the houre of his death seemed vnquiet, as manie iudged him rather in a frensie than otherwise: he suffered for buggerie."—*Hol.* iii. 952, col. 2, l. 21. See the rest of the column for other executions for heresy, for affirming Henry VIII.'s marriage with his first Queen, Katherine, to be good, for treason, and for robbing a lady.—F.

² cap. 8, Record Com. Stat.

³ A.D. 1580, an. Eliz. 23. "The eight and twentieth daie of Nouember, were arreigned in the kings [Queens] Bench, William Randall for *coniuring to know where treasure was hid in the earth*, and goods feloniouslie taken, were become: Thomas Elks, Thomas Lupton, Rafe Spacie, and Christopher Waddington, for being present, aiding and procuring the said Randall to the coniuration aforesaid: Randall, Elks, Spacie, and Waddington, were found guiltie, & had iudgement to be hanged: Randall was executed, the other were reprimed."—*Hol.* iii. 1314, col. 2, l. 68. . . . A.D. 1581. "The thirteenth of Januarie, a man was drawne to saint Thomas of Waterings, and there hanged, headed, and quartered, for begging by a licence wherevnto the queenes hand was counterfeted."—*Hol.* iii. 1315, col. 1, l. 46.—F.

⁴ counterfeiters.

⁵ A.D. 1569-70. "The seuen and twentieth of Januarie, Philip Mestrell, a Frenchman, and two Englishmen, were drawne from Newgate to Tilburne, and there hanged, the Frenchman quartered, who had coined gold counterfeit: the Englishmen, the one had clipped siluer, the other, cast testons of tin."—*Hol.* iii. 1211, col. 1, l. 65.

dences, charters, and writings, & diuerse other need-
 lesse to be remembred. [If a woman poison hir hus-
 band, she is burned aliue;¹ if the seruant kill his
 master he is to be executed for petie treason; he that
 poisoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or
 lead, although the partie die not of the practife: in
 cases of murther, all the accessaries are to suffer paines
 of death accordingle.] Periurie is punished by the
 pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P,
 [the rewalting of the trees growing vpon the grounds
 of the offenders,] and losse of als his² mooueables.
 Manie trespasses also are punished by the cutting of
 one or both eares from the head of the offender, as
 the vtterance of seditious words against the magistrates,
 fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned
 through the eares; carriers of sheepe out of the land,
 by the losse of their hands; such as kill by poison,
 are either [boiled or] skalded to death in lead or
 seething water. Heretikes are burned quicke;³ harlots
 and their mates, by carting, ducking, and dooing of
 open penance [in sheets, in churches and market
 steeds,] are often put to rebuke. [Howbeit, as this is
 counted with some either as no punishment at all

Punishments.

Poisoners are
bould to death in
water or lead.Perjurers are
burnt in the
forehead, and
lose their goods.Offenders lose
their eares.

Roges.

Sheepstealers.

Heretikes are
burnt alive.
Harlots are
duckt, and do
penance.

A.D. 1577-8. "The five and twentieth of Februarie, John de Loy, a Frenchman, and five English gentlemen, was conueied from the tower of London towards Norwich, there to be arraigned and executed for coining of monie counterfet."—*Hol.* iii. 1271, col. 1, l. 55.—F.

¹ See note 3, page 222. A.D. 1575. "The nineteenth of Julie, a woman was burnt at Tunbridge in Kent for poisoning of hir husband: and two daies before, a man named Orleie was hanged at Maidstone, for being accessarie to the same fact."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1262, col. 1, l. 70.—F.

A.D. 1571. "On the sixteenth of Julie, Rebecca Chamber, late wife to Thomas Chamber of Heriettesham, was found culpable [= guilty] of poisoning the said Thomas Chamber hir husband, at the assises holden at Maidstone in the countie of Kent. For the which fact, she (hauing well deserued) was there burnt on the next morrow."—*Hol.* iii. 1226, col. 2, l. 30. See like instances in Stowe's *Annals*.—F.

² ye

³ A.D. 1583. "On the eighteenth daie of September, John Lewes, who named himself Abdoit, an obstinate heretike, denieng the godhead of Christ, and holding diuers other detestable heresies (much like to his predecessor Matthew Hamont) was burned at Norwich."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1354, col. 2, l. 62.—F.

HARRISON.

Fornicators
should be
dragged across
the Thames at
the tail of a
boat, (Cp. A.
Boorde, 201, on
the Bakers.)

as the Knight
Marshall serves
'em.

The old punish-
ment for
adultery.

I would make
adulterers and
whores, slaves
to be sold by
the persons
they'd offended.

to speake of, or but smallie regarded of the offenders, so I would wish adulterie and fornication to haue some sharper law. For what great smart is it to be turned out of an hot sheet into a cold, or after a little washing in the water to be let lose againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit, the dragging of some of them ouer the Thames betweene Lambeth and Westminster at the taile of a boat, is a punishment that most terrifieth them which are condemned therto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marshall, and that within the compassse of his iurisdiction & limits onelie. *Canutus* was the first that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to punish whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being too seuer in this behalfe. For before the time of the said *Canutus*, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleasure; and the adulteresse was to lose hir eies or nose, or both, if the case were more than common: whereby it appeereth of what estimation marriage was amongst them, sith the breakers of that holie estate were so greuouslie rewarded. But afterward, the cleargie dealt more fauourable with them, shooting rather at the punishments of such priests and clearkes as were married, than the reformation of adulterie and fornication, wherein you shall find no example that anie seueritie was shewed, except vpon such laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therefore, so in adulterie and whoredome, I would wish the parties trespassant, to be made bond or slaues vnto those that receiued the iniurie, to sell and giue where they listed, or to be condemned to the gallies: for that punishment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than standing in a sheet, though the weather be neuer so cold.

Manslaughter, in time past was punished by the purffe, wherein the quantitie or qualitie of the punish-

ment was rated after the state and calling of the partie killed: so that one was valued sometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 shillings. And, by an estatute made vnder Henrie the first, a citizen of London at 100, whereof else-where I haue spoken more at large.] Such as kill themselves, are buried in the field, with a stake driuen through their bodies.

Self-killers are buried with a stake thro' 'em.

Witches are hanged, or sometimes burned; but theeeues are hanged ¹(as I said before) ¹generallie [on the gibbet or gallows], sauing in Halifax, where they are beheaded after a strange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law, or rather a custome, at Halifax, that who focuer dooth commit anie felonie, and is taken with the same, or confesse the fact vpon examination; if it be valued by foure constables to amount to the sum of thirteene pence halfe penie, he is foorthwith beheaded vpon [one of] the next market daie[s] (which fall vsuallie vpon the tuefdaies, thurfdaies, & saturdaies) or else vpon the same daie that he is so conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is doone, is a square blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which dooth ride vp and downe in a slot, rabet, or regall betweene two peeces of timber, that are framed and set vpriight, of fve yardes in height. In the neather end of the sliding blocke is an ax, keied or fastened with [an] iron intp the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there fastned by ²a wooden pin ³(with a notch made into the same after the maner of a Samsons post) vnto the middest of which pin [also] there is a long rope fastened that commeth downe among the people, so that when the offendor hath made his confession, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermost

Witches are hangd or burnt. Thieves are hangd, except at Halifax,

[Halifax law.]

where Felons, when convicted of stealing anything worth 13^d., are

beheaded by a kind of Guillotine.

¹—¹ euerywhere

² with

³ pinne (the one ende set on a peece of woodde which goeth crosse ower ye two rabets & the other ende being let into the blocke, holding the Axe

The Halifax
way of guillotining
thieves.

blocke, euerie man there present dooth either take hold of the rope (or putteth foorth his arme so neere to the same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true iustice executed), and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the ax is fastened dooth fall downe with such a violence, that if the necke of the transgressor were so big as that of a bull, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge distance. If it be so that the offender be apprehended for an ox,¹ oxen, sheepe, kine, horffe, or anie such cattell: the selfe beast, or other of the same kind, [shall] haue the end of the rope tied somewhere vnto them, so that they [being driuen, doo] draw out the pin, wherby the offender is executed. Thus² much of Halifax law, which I set downe onelie to shew the custome of that countrie in this behalfe.

Rogues.

Scolds.

[Mute.]
Fellons who
won't answer,
are presnt to
death by
weights.

Thieves who get
benefit of
clergy
[Cleargie.]
[² p. 186]

are burnt on
the left thumb

Roges and vagabonds are often stocked and whipped; scolds are ducked vpon cuckingstooles in the water. Such fellons as stand mute, and speake not at their arraignment, are pressed to death by huge weights [laid vpon a boord, that lieth ouer their brest, and a sharpe stone vnder their backs,] and these commonlie hold their peace, thereby to saue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which, if they were condemned, should be confiscated to the prince. Theeues that are saued by their bookes and cleargie, [for the first³ offense, if they haue stollen nothing else but oxen, sheepe, monie, or such like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie fide, or assailing of anie mans house in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores,] are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe, with an hot iron, so that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieith them to haue beene arraigned of felonie before, whereby they are sure at that time to haue no mercie. I doo not read that this custome of

¹ ox or

² And thus

fauing by the booke is vsed anie where else than in England; neither doo I find (after much diligent in-
 quirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. How-
 beit, this I generallie gather thereof; that it was deuised¹

Only in England
 do offenders
 haue benefit of
 clergy.

to traine the inhabiteurs of this land to the loue of learn-
 ing, which before contemned letters and all good know-
 ledge, as men onelie giuing themselues to husbandrie
 and the warres; the like whereof I read to haue beene
 amongst the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would
 not fuffer euen their princes to be lerned, for weaken-
 ing of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine
 in the counsell house; but by open proclamation would
 command them to auoid, [whensoever anie thing touch-
 ing the state of the land was to be consulted vpon.] Pirats

This was to en-
 courage learn-
 ing.

and robbers by sea are condemned in the court of the
 admeraltie, and hanged on the shore at lowe water marke,
 where they are left till three tides haue ouerwashed
 them.² Finallie, such as hauing wals and banks neere
 vnto the sea, and doo fuffer the same to decaie, (after
 conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth
 and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine
 [ancient] custome apprehended, condemned, and staked
 in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell
 of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made
 vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

[Pirats]

are hung on the
 sea-shore at low-
 water mark.

(Cp. Stat. 6
 Hen. VI., cap. 5,
 as to punish-
 ment for
 defaults in
 Sowers,
 'so-wors'.)

Men who fail to
 keep up sea-
 walls,
 are stak't in
 the breach the
 water makes.

[And thus much in part of the administration of
 iustice vsed in our countrie, wherein notwithstanding
 that we doo not often heare of horrible, merciles, and
 wilfull murthers, (such I meane as are not fildome
 feene in the countries of the maine,) yet now and then
 some manslaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated
 and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be
 seuerelie punished, and in such wise as I before re-
 ported. Certes there is no greater mischeefe doone in

We don't often
 haue bad
 murders.

¹ deuised at the first

² A.D. 1577-8. "On the ninth of March, seuen pirats were hanged at Wapping
 in the ouze, beside London."—*Holinshed*, iii. 1271, col. 1, l. 59-61.—F.

Robberies by England than by robberies, the first by yoong shifting gentlemen, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by scruingmen,¹ whose wages cannot suffice so much as to find them breeches; wherefore they are now and then constrained, either to keepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houses with the first fort, or else to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers pastures, there to see and view which horses feed best, whereby they manie times get something, although with hard aduventure: it hath beene knowne by their confession at the gallows, that some one such chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or fixtie stolne horses at pasture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue sold at faires and markets farre off, they themselues in the meane season being taken about home for honest yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue been bewraied. It is not long since one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honest and wealthie townesman; he vttered also more horses than anie of his trade, because he sold a reasonable peniworth, and was a faire spoken man. It was his custome likewise to saie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding: "So God helpe me, gentleman or sir, either he did cost me so much, or else by Iesus I stole him." Which talke was plaine inough; and yet such was his estimation, that each beleued the first part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indeed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are rogues, which doo verie great mischeefe in all places where

Robberies by
1. young gentlemen,
2. serving-men
who turn highwaymen and burglars,
or steal horses,
which they sell at distant faires.
The saying of one of these horse-thieves.
Rogues do great mischief.

¹ On serving-men, see the striking passage in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, p. 27-8, ed. 1852; and "*A Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Scrwing men: or The Scrwingmans Comfort: With other thinges not impertinent to the Premisses, as well pleasant as profitable to the courteous Reader,*" 1598, reprinted in W. C. Hazlitt's *Roxburghe Library, Incited Tracts*, 1868. Also '*The Scrwing Man and the Husbandman,*' *A Pleasaunt New Dialogue.* *Rox. Ballads*, Ballad Soc., 1870, i. 300.

they become. For wheras the rich onelie suffer iniurie by the first two, these spare neither rich nor poore : but whether it be great gaine or small, all is fith that cometh to net with them ; and yet I saie, both they and the rest are trussed vp apace. For there is not one yeare commonlie, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by *Cardane* (who writeth it vpon the report of the bishop of Lexouia) in the geniture of king Edward the sixt, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie feuerelie against such idle persons, I meane, great theeues, pettie theeues and roges, did hang vp threescore and twelue thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the rest : but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea, although we haue had no warres, which are a great occasion of their breed (for it is the custome of the more idle sort, hauing once serued, ^{serued} or but seene the other side of the sea vnder colour of seruice, to shake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a disgrace for himselfe to returne vnto his former trade,) that except some better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, such as dwell in vplandish townes and little villages shall liue but in small safetie and rest. For the better apprehension also of theeues and mankillers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or any man, com-
plaine and giue warning of slaughter or murther committed, the constable of the village wherunto he cometh and crieth for succour, is to raise the parish about him, and to search woods, groues, and all suspected houses and places, where the trespassor may be, or is supposed to lurke ; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next constable, and so one constable, after serch made, to aduertise another from parish to parish, till they come to the same where the

300 or 400
rogues are now
hung yearly.

Henry VIII.

hung 72,000
of 'em.

Wars breed
rogues.

Men who've
once been
soldiers, bid
good-bye to
labour.

Search for rob-
bers and mur-
derers in one
parish after
another.

If any parish
lets a thief
escape,

it is fin'd,

and makes good
the robd man's
loss.

I've known
villagers so
selfish as to
refuse help,
even when
call'd on by the
constables.

offendor is harbored and found. It is also prouided, that if anie parish in this businesse doo not hir dutie, but suffereth the theefe (for the auoiding of trouble sake) in carrieng him to the gaile, if he should be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to escape, the same parish is not onlie to make fine to the king, but also the same, with the whole hundred wherein it standeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his estate harmlesse. Certes this is a good law; howbeit, I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellows being taken to haue escaped out of the stocks, being rescued by other for want of watch & gard, that theeues haue beene let passe, bicause the couetous and greedie parishoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge, to carrie them to prison, if it were far off; that when hue and crie haue beene made euen to the faces of some constables, they haue said; "God restore your losse! I haue other businesse at this time." And by such meanes, the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath swet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himselfe and his poore children and familie.]

¹ Of the maner of building and[¹ p. 187]*furniture of our houses.*²Chap. 12.³

THe greateſt part of our building in the cities and good townes of England, conſiſteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houſes of the communaltie (except here & there in the Weſt countrie townes) are made of ſtone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerſe other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houſes of the Britons were ſlightlie ſet vp with a few poſts & many radels, [with ſtable and all offices vnder one rooſe,] the like whereof almoſt is to be ſeene in the fennie countries [and northerne parts] vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in ſpeaking of building to make a diſtinction betweene the plaine and wooddie ſoiles : ⁴ for as in theſe, our houſes are commonlie ſtrong and well timbered,—ſo that in manie places, there are not aboue [fourē,] ſix, or nine inches betweene ſtud and ſtud,—ſo in the open champaine countries ⁵ they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to uſe no ſtuds at all, but onlie [franke poſts,] raifins, [beames, prickepoſts,] groundſels, [ſummers (or dormants)] tranſoms, and ſuch ⁶ principals, with here and ⁷ there a girding,⁷ whervnto they faſten their ſplints or radels, and then caſt it all ouer with [thicke] claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwiſe would annoie them. [Certes this rude kind of

Most of our
houses are of
timber,

few of stone.

In the fen
country and the
North, they're
of poſts and
hurdles or
panels.

On woody ſoils,
the houſes are
well timberd ;

but in the open
country they've
only a few
upright and
croſs poſts,
with clay-
coverd panels
between.

² See Andrew Boorde's *Dyetary of Helth*, 1542, E. E. Text Soc. 1870, for a description of how to build houses, and manage them and men's income, and what food folk should eat.—F.

³ In the 1577 ed. this chapter is chap. 10 of the 2nd Book.

⁴ countrie

⁵ & champaine soyles

⁶ upright

⁷—⁷ there an owerthwart post in their walles

Spaniards' astonishment at the large Diet of Englishmen,

and the wretchedness of their houses.

Our houses are in stories, divided into rooms, and

coverd with straw or slate.

Clay for panels of houses is white, red (or

loam), or blue.

Asbestos or White Lime, slackt, is us'd for lime-whiting the clay.

When chalk can't be had, lime is made from shells, &c.

building made the Spaniards in queene Maries daies to woonder, but cheeffie when they saw what large diet was vsed in manie of these so homelie cottages; in so much that one of no small reputation amongst them said after this maner: "These English (quoth he) haue their houses made of sticks and durt, but they fare commonlie so well as the king." Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in such courte cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces.] In like sort as euerie countrie house is thus apparelled on the out side, so is it inwardlie diuided into fundrie roomes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwise with straw, sedge, or reed,¹ except some quarrie of slate be neere hand, from whence they haue, for their monie, so much as may suffice them.

The claie wherewith our houses are impanelled, is either white, red; or blue; and of these, the first dooth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke; the second is called lome; but the third eftsoones changeth colour so soone as it is wrought, notwithstanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke also we haue our excellent [Asbestos or] white lime, made in most places, wherewith [being quenched,] we strike ouer our claie workes and stone wals, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemen's houses: otherwise, in steed of chalke, (where it wanteth, for it is so scant that in some places it is sold by the pound,) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red stone, as in Wales, and else where other stones, [and shels of oysters and like fish found vpon the sea coast, which being conuerted into lime, doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eschew water, whereby it is dissolued, and neuertheless desire oile, wherewith it is easilie mixed,] as I haue seene by experience. Within their doores also, such as are of

¹ moss, in the Gawthorp Accounts.—F.

abilitie doo oft make their floores¹ and parget of fine alabafter burned, which they call plaster of Paris, Plaster of Paris. whereof in some places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable against the rage of fire.

In plaistering likewise of our fairest houses ouer our heads, we vse to laie first a laine² or two of white mortar tempered with haire, vpon laths, which are nailed one by another, (or sometimes vpon reed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made fast here and there with saplaths, for falling downe,) and finally couer all with the aforefaid plaster, which beside the delectable whitenesse of the stuffe it selfe, is laied on so euen and smoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be doone with more exactnesse. [The wals of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerse histories, or hearbes, beafts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seeled with oke of our owne, or wainescot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more close than otherwise they would be. As for stoues, we haue not hitherto vsed them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diuerse houses of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and feed in, as in Germanie and else where, but now and then to sweat in, as occasion and need shall require it.] This Ceilings of Mortar, also hath beene common in England, contrarie to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be seene, (for example in most streets of London,) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardlie beene verie simple and plaine to fight, which inwardlie haue beene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Hereby moreouer it is come to passe, that the fronts of our streets haue not beene so vniforme and orderlie builded as those of forreine cities, where (to coverd with Plaster of Paris. Our inner walls are either tapestrid or wainscoted. Stoves are beginning to be used by rich men, Houses (especially in London) are plain outside, fine inside, and not built all like one another.

¹ flowers² Laine

Formerly, in the country, lattise was us'd for glass,

and horn was so us'd too, but is not at present, as glass is plentiful now.

The Specular stone, or Selenites, was formerly us'd for glass.

How glass is said to have been first discovered.

saie truth) the vtterfide of their mansions and dwellings haue oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and vneasie within, as experience dooth confirme. Of old time, our countrie houses, in steed of glasse, did vse much lattise, and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwise. I read also that some of the better sort, in and before the times of the Saxons [(who notwithstanding vsed some glasse also, since the time of Benedict Biscop, the moonke that brought the feat of glasing first into this land)] did make panels of horne in steed of glasse, & fix them in wooden calmes. But as horne [in windows] is [now] quite laid downe in euerie place, so our lattises are also growne into lesse vse, bicause glasse is come to be so plentifull, and within a verie little so good cheape [if not better] then¹ the other.

[I find obfcure mention of the specular stone also to haue beene found and applied to this vse in England, but in such doubtfull sort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuerthelesse, certeine it is, that antiquitie vsed it before glasse was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glasse was first found I care not greatlie to remember, euen at this present, although it be directlie beside my purposed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & neere to the foot of mount Carmell, there is a moore or marris, wherout riseth a brooke called somtime *Belus*, and falleth into the sea neere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie ascribed vnto Baall, and also honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Israell. It came to passe also as a certeine merchant sailed that waie, loden with Nitrum, the passengers went to land for to repose themselues, and to take in some store of fresh water into their vessell. Being also on the shore, they kindled a fire, and made prouision for their dinner, but bicause they wanted

treuets or stones whereon ¹ to set their kettels on, ran by chance into the ship, and brought great peeces of *Nitrum* with him, which serued their turne for that present. To be short, the said substance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mixed by chance with the grauell that laie vnder it; and so brought forth that shining substance which now is called glasse, and about the time of *Semiramis*. When the companie saw this, they made no small accompt of their successe, and forthwith began to practise the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the said stuffe did also insue. Certes for the time this historie may well be true: for I read of glasse in *Iob*; but for the rest, I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes.] Heretofore also the houses of our princes and noble men were often glased with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be seene in Sudleie castell) and in diuerse other places with fine cristall, but this especiallie in the time of the Romans, wherof also some fragments haue beene taken vp in old ruines. But now these are not in vse, so that onelie the clearest glasse is most esteemed: for we haue diuerse sorts, some brought out of Burgundie, some out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beside that which is made in England, [which would be] so good as the best, [if we were diligent and carefull to bestow more cost vpon it,] and [yet as it is] each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the mansion houses of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground stand altogether by streets, & ioining one to an other, but in woodland soiles disperfed here and there, each one vpon the seuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in such sort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, stable, nor bruehouse annexed vnto them vnder the same rooffe (as in manie places beyond the sea [& some of the north parts of our countrie,]) but all separate from the first, and one of them from an other. And yet for all

[1 p. 188]

The first discovery of Glass.

Noblemen's houses formerly had beryl for glass, as at Sudley Castle.

Now we have clear glass, from Burgundy, Normandy, Flanders, and England.

Our country dwelling-houses

have their dairie, stables, &c. in out-houses.

this, they are not so farre distant in sunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is doone in each of them with ease, and call quicklie vnto his meinie¹ if anie danger should attach him.

Gentlemen's
mansions and
houses are
mostly of
timber ;

tho' those lately
built are of

brick or stone.

So are the noble-
men's houses ;
and so fine, that
the worst is like
a Prince's of old.

Our builders are
the best in the
world, but
charge so dear

that cheaper
strangers are
often preferred
to them.

As to furniture,

our nobles'
houses have
rich hangings,
and

£1000 or £2000
worth of plate

The ancient manours and houses of our gentlemen are yet, and for the most part, of strong timber, [in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before those of like science among all other nations.] Howbeit such as be latelie builded, are comonlie either of bricke or hard stone, [or both ;] their roomes large and comelie,² and houses of office further distant from their lodgings. Those of the nobilitie are likewise wrought with bricke and hard stone, as prouision may best be made: but so magnificent and statelie, as the basest house of a baron dooth often match [in our daies] with some honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our yeares,³ wherein our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in skill with old *Vitruuius*, [*Leo Baptista*,] and *Serlo*. [Neuerthelessse, their estimation more than their greedie and seruile couetousnesse, ioined with a lingering humour, causeth them often to be reiected, & strangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reasonable in their takings, and lesse wasters of time by a great deale than our owne.]

The furniture of our houses also exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to passing delicacie: and herein I doo not speake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewise⁴ of the lowest fort [in most places of our south countrie,] that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes, in noble mens houses it is not rare to see abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapistrie, filuer vessell, and so much other plate, as may furnish fundrie cupbords, to the summe oftentimes of a thousand or two thousand pounds at the least: whereby the value of this and the

¹ meney

² statelie

³ daies

⁴ euen

rest of their stufte dooth grow to be [almost] inestimable.

Likewise in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, and some other wealthie citizens, it is not geson to behold generallie their great prouision of tapitrie, Turkie worke, pewter, braisse, fine linen, and thereto costlie cupbords of plate, worth fise or six hundred [or a thousand] pounds, to be deemed by estimation.

Our gentry's houses

have tapestry, Turkey-work, &c., and from £500 to £1000 worth of plate.

But as herein all these forts doo far exceed their elders and predecessors, [and in neatnesse and curiositie, the merchant all other;] so in time past, the costlie furniture staid there, whereas now it is descended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie¹ farmers, who [by vertue of their old and not of their new leaues] haue [for the most part] learned also to garnish their cupbords with plate, their [ioined] beds with tapistrie and filke hangings, and their tables with [carpets &] fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie [(God be praised therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well)] dooth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I speake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to shew that I do reioise rather, to see how God hath blessed vs with his good gifts; and² whilest I² behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to most exceffiue prices, [& what commoditie so euer is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communaltie by such as looke into euerie trade,] we doo yet find the means to obtaine & atchiue such furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpossible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouslie altered in England within their sound remembrance; [& other three things too too much increased.] One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, wheras in their yoong daies there were not aboue two or three, if so manie, in most vplandith townes of the realme (the religious houses, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted,

Artisans and Farmers too have

cupboards with plate, silk hanging, fine table linen, &c.

God be thank for his good gifts!

And all this notwithstanding the great rise in prices.

Three things greatlie amended in England.

I.

Chimnies.

Of old, not above 2 or 3 in a town.

¹ most

²—³ to

Men made their
fires against a
reredos in the
hall.

and peradventure some great personages) but ech one made his fire against a reredosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.

II.

Improv'd bed-
ding, instead of
the old

Hard lodging.

A good round
log for a pillow.

Y yonis after
marriage, a
mattress, and a
sack of chaff for
a pillow.

as in Bedford-
shire now

Pillows
fit only for
lying in women
servants beds.

Straws pack'd
thick Bedford
beds.

III.

Platters
of pewter
and silver
platters
of silver
platters
of silver
platters
of silver

Platters
of silver
platters
of silver

Platters

The second is the great [(although not generall)] amendment of lodging, for (said they) our fathers [(yea] and we our selues [also)] haue lien full oft vpon straw pallets, [on rough mats] couered onelie with a sheet, vnder couerlets made of dagswain or hopharlots (I vse their owne termes,) and a good round log vnder their heads in steed of a bolster [or pillow.] If it were so that our fathers or the good man of the house, had [within seven yeares after his marriage purchased] a mattresses or flockebed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head vpon, he thought himselfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, [that peradventure laie seldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers ;] so well were they contented, [and with such baie kind of furniture : which also is not verie much amended as yet in some parts of Bedfordshire, and elsiewhere further off from our southerne parts.] Pillowes (said they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for seruants, if they had anie sheet aboue them, it was well, for seldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking straws that ran oft through the canvas [of the pallet,] and raied their hardened hides.

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of [ves-
sell, as of] trewe platters into pewter, and wooden
spennes into silver or tin. For so common were all
kinds of trewe stuffe in old time, that a man should
hardly find four pennes of pewter, of which one was
peradventure a staffe in a good farmers house, and yet
for all this negligence, if a man to be really called they
were now able to doe and give their men at their
dinner a chaine of silver, or a silver chaine, or more,
although they had but three pennes at the other end
of the chaine. And this was their practice, that if

¹some one od ¹farmer or husbandman had beene at the alehouse, a thing greatlie vsed in those daies, amongst fix or seuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to shew what store he had, did cast ²downe his purffe, and therein a noble or six shillings in siluer vnto them [(for few such men then cared for gold, bicause it was not so readie payment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell)] it was verie likelie that all the rest could not laie downe so much against it: whereas in my time, although peradventure foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie,³ fiftie, [or an hundred] pounds, yet will the farmer [as another palme or date tree] thinke his gaines verie small toward the end ⁴of his terme, if he haue not fix or seuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchase a new lease, beside a faire garnish of pewter on his cupboard, [with so much more in od vessell going about the house,] three or foure featherbeds, so manie couerlids and carpets of tapistrie, a siluer salt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaft) and a doozen of spoones to furnish vp the sute. This also he taketh to be his owne cleere; for what stocke of monie soeuer he gathereth [& laieth vp] in all his yeares, it is often seene, that the landlord will take such order with him for the fame, when he renueth his lease, which is commonlie eight or fix ⁵yeares before ⁶the old ⁶be expired (sith it is now growen almost to a custome, that if he come not to his lord so long before, another shall step in for a reuerfion, and so defeat him out right) that it shall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaued⁷ it from his chin. [And as they commend these, so (beside the decaie of house-keeping whereby the poore haue beene relieued) they speake also of three things that are growen to be verie grievous vnto them, to wit, the inhanfing of rents, latelie mentioned; the daillie oppression of copiholders, whose

So poor were the Farmers, that if at the Alehouse one could shew 6s., all the other half-dozen couldn't produce as much.

But now, tho' rents have risen ten or twenty-fold, Farmers have 6 or 7 years' rent in hand, besides plenty of pewter, 3 or 4 featherbeds, tapestry carpets, a silver salt-cellar, a wine-bowl, and a dozen spoons.

But when a Farmer renews his lease,

his Landlord sweeps off all his ready money as clean as the barber shaves his chin.

Three things have grown very grievous in England.

1. The rise in rents.
2. Increase of copyhold fines.

¹—¹ a ² dast ³ fortie or ⁴ midst ⁵ ten ⁶—⁶ it ⁷ shaven

Lords of Manors
rack and fleece
their poor copy-
holders in every
possible way.

3. Usury, now

so practist by
Christians, that
he who lends
his money with
out interest is
thought a Fool.

At first no
interest was
paid :

then 1 per cent.,

then 2,

3,

4, 5,

6,

and at last 12.

Reader, help
hang-up takers
of cent per cent

[By the year.]

Some landlords
too screw out of
their tenants,
for a lease, all
the money they
have,
as if tenants
were bondmen.

lords seeke to bring their poore tenants almost into
plaine seruitude and miserie, dailie deuising new
meanes, and seeking vp all the old, how to cut them
shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then
seuen times increasing their fines; driuing them also for
euerie trifle to loose and forfeit their tenures, (by
whome the greatest part of the realme dooth stand and
is maintained,) to the end they may fleece them yet
more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing
they talke of is vsurie, a trade brought in by the Jewes,
now perfectlie practised almost by euerie christian, and
so commodie, that he is accompted but for a foole that
dooth lend his monie for nothing. In time past it *was*
Sors pro sorte, that is, the principall onelie for the prin-
cipall; but now, beside that which is about the prin-
cipall properlie called *Vjura*, we challenge *Fœnus*, that is.
commoditie of soile, & fruits of the earth, if not the
ground it selfe. In time past also, one of the hundred
was much, from thence it rose vnto two, called in
Latine *Vjura*, *Ex sextante*; three, to wit, *Ex quadrante*;
then to foure, to wit, *Ex triente*; then to fieve, which is
Ex quincunce; then to fix, called *Ex semisse*, &c: as
the accompt of the *Affis* ariseth, and comming at the
last vnto *Vjura ex assē*, it amounteth to twelue in the
hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centesima*, for
that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall;
but more of this elswhere. See *Cicero* against *Verres*,
Demosthenes against *Aphobus*, and *Athenæus*, lib. 13. in
fine: and when thou hast read them well, helpe I prae
thee in lawfull maner to hang vp such as take *Centum*
pro cento, for they are no better worthie as I doo iudge
in conscience. Forget not also such landlords as vse to
value their leases at a secret estimation giuen of the
wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they seeme (as
it were) to eat them vp, and deale with bondmen; so
that if the leaffee be thought to be worth an hundred
pounds, he shall paie no lesse for his new terme, or else

another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants.

I am forie to report it, much more greeued to vnderstand of the practife; but moft forowfull of all to vnderstand that men of great port and countenance are fo farre from fuffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themfelues become grafiers, butchers, tanners, fheepmafters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to enrich themfelues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the communalitie weake, or as an idoll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plaufible fhew, but when neceffitie fhall inforce, haue an heaue and bitter fequele.]¹

I'm very sorry to say, and sorrier still to know, that Gentlemen actually turn graziers, tanners, &c., themselves, for money, leaving the farmers and commonalty poor.

¹ For p. 238—241, compare Lord Buckhurst's letter in 1568, showing the poor furniture of his rooms in Q. Elizabeth's palace at Sheen:

"From Shene, this xxxth of September 1568" (To the Lords of Q. Eliz.'s Privy Council) . . . "having receved your L. letters that I shold repaire to Shene, and there to do the beste I cold in accomodating the Cardinall with mine advise, aid, and assistants, towards her M. officers who then were at Shene for that purpose, (the same your letters containing no other effects at all) I toke hors with-in one hower after, I being then xxx mile of from Shene, and so rode all the night, and upon my coming thether, being but 2 daies before the Cardinals arivall, I spake with her M. officers, with whome I had conferens for the better accomodating of the Cardinall. I brought them in to everie parte of the hous that I possessed, and showed them all such stuf and furniture as I had. And where they required plate of me, I told them, as troth is, that I had no plate at all. Suche glasse vessell as I had, I offred them, which they thought to base; for naperie, I cold not satisfie their turne, for they desired damaske worke for a long table, and I had non other but plain linnen for a square table. The table whereon I dine me self, I offred them; and for that yt was but a square table, they refused yt. One onlie tester and bedsted not occupied, I had, and thos I delivered for the Cardinall him self; and when we cold not by any menes in so shorte a time procure another bedsted for the bushop, I assigned them the bedsted on which my wifes waiting women did lie, and laid them on the ground. Mine own basen and ewer I lent to the Cardinall, and wanted me self. So did I the candelsticks for mine own table, with divers drinking glasses, small cushions, small pottes for the ketchin, and sundrie other such like trifles, although indede I had no greter store of them then I presentlie occupied; and albeit this be not worthie the writing, yet mistrusting lest the misorder of some others in denieng of such like kind of stuf not occupied by themselves, hath bene percease informed as towards me, I have thought good not to omit yt. Long tables, formes, brasse for the ketchin, and all such necessities as cold not be furnished by me, we toke order to provide in the towne; hanginges and beds we received from the yeman of the wardrop at Richemond; and when we saw that naperie and shetes cold no where here be had, I sent word thereof to the officers at the Courte, by which menes we received from my lord of Leceter 2 pair of fine shetes for the Car-

Of cities and townes in¹*England.*Cap. 13.²*Six and
twentie cities
in England.**As many as
there are Bish-
oprics and Arch-
bishoprics.**Lichfield and
Coventry count
as one: so do
Bath and Wells.**Once, our
Southern cities
were very large
and fine.*

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the south part of this Ile, and so manie great cities vnder their iurisdiction; so in these our daies there is³ but one or two fewer, and each of them also vnder the ecclesiasticall regiment of some one bishop or archbishop, who in spirituall cafes haue the charge and ouersight of the same. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be bishopriks & archbishopriks. For notwithstanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, doo seeme to extend the aforefaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of these couples are to be accounted but as one entier citie and see of the bishop, sith one bishoprike can haue relation but vnto one see, and the said see be situate but in one place, after which the bishop dooth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient histories, that the cities of this southerlie portion haue beene of exceeding greatnesse and beautie,

dinall, and from my lord Chamberlen, one pair of fine for the bushop, with 2 other courser pair, and order beside for x pair more from London. At which time also, becaus I wold be sure your L. shold be ascertained of the simplenes and scarsytie of such stuf as I had here, I sente a man of mine to the Courte, speciallie to declare to your L. that for plate, damaske naperie and fine shetes, I had none at all; and for the reste of my stuf, neither was it such as with honor mighte furnishe such a personage; nor yet had I any greter store thereof then I presentlie occupied; and he brought me this answer again from your L. 'that if I had it not, I cold not lend it.' And yet, all things being thus provided for, and the diet for his L. being also prepared, I sente worde thereof to Mr Kingesmele; and therupon the next daie in the morning, about ix of the clocke the Cardinall came to Shene, where I met and receoed him almost a quarter of a mile from the hous, and when I had furste brought the Cardinall to his lodgings, and after, the bushop to his, I thought good there to leue them to their repose." (Works of T. Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, in J. R. Smith's *Library of Old Authors*, pp. xxx—xxxiii.) Lord B. had been complained of for not accomodating the Cardinal de Châtillon and Bishop well. Lord B. had rooms in the Queen's Palace at Sheen, on the London side of Richmond, for which he paid 40 marks a year. ¹ of ² In 1577 ed. this chapter forms chap. 7 of Book 2.

whereof some were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in these our times are quite decayed, and the places where they stood worn out of all remembrance. Such also for the most part as yet remaine, are maruellouslie altered, insomuch that whereas at the first they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houses, or appeare not to be much greater in comparison than poore & simple villages. *Antoninus* the most diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth, among other, these ancient townes following, as *Sitomagus*, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as *Leland* supposeth (wherin they went by Colchester) to London; *Nouiomagus* that lieth betweene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles east of London; and likewise *Neomagus* and *Niomagus* which take their names of their first founder *Magus*, the sonne of *Samothés*, & second king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; [and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as *Bodinus* affirmeth out of *Plinie*, as if all the townes that ended in *Magus* should stand in holes and low grounds: which is to be disprooued in diuerse cities in the maine, as also here with vs.] Of these moreouer, fir *Thomas Eliot* supposeth *Neomagus* to haue stood somewhere about Chester; & *George Lillie*, in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth *Niomagus* to be the verie same that we doo now call Buckingham, [and lieth farre from the shore]. And as these and sundrie other now perished tooke their denomination of this prince, so there ¹ are diuerse causes, which mooue me to coniecture, that Salisburie ² dooth rather take the first name of *Sarron*, the sonne of the said *Magus*, than of *Cæsar*, *Caradoc*, or *Seuerus* (as some of our writers doo imagine), [or elsé at the least wife of *Salisbury* of the maine, from whence some Saxons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later, not vnlikelie, fith before

Some have disappeared now;

others are only a few houses or poor villages.

Sitomagus.

Nouiomagus.

Neomagus.
Niomagus.

'-magus' does not mean a hole.

Sir Thom. Eliot.

George Lillie.

[¹ p. 190]

Salisbury of Sarron.

² Salisbury itself

*Sarronium.
Sarrons burg.*

*Cities began to
multiply.*

*Greater cities in
times past when
husbandmen
also were
citizens.*

*The cause of
the increase of
villages.*

Coppyholds.

the comming of the Saxons, the king of the Sueffion-
enses had a great part of this Iland in subiection, as
Cæsar saith; and in another place, that such of Belgie
as stole ouer hither from the maine, builded and called
diuerse cities after the names of the same from whence
they came, I meane, such as stood vpon the coast, as he
himselfe dooth witnesse.] But sith coniectures are no
verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement,
I will not stand now vpon the prooffe of this matter,
least I should seeme to take great paines in adding new
coniectures vnto old, in such wise to deteine the heads
of my readers about these trifles, that otherwise perad-
uenture would be farre better occupied [in matters of
more importance.] To proceed therefore. As soone
after the first inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began
no doubt to be builded and increased, so they ceased
not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was
throughlie furnished with hir conuenient numbers,
whereof some at this present with their ancient names,
doo still remaine in knowledge, though diuerse be
doubted of, and manie more perished by continuance of
time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not also but
the least of these were comparable to the greatest of
those which stand in our time; for sith that in those
daies the most part of the Iland was referued vnto
pasture, the townes and villages either were not at all,
(but all sorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferen-
lie, an image of which estate may yet be seene in
Spaine,) or at the leastwise stood not so thicke, as they
did afterward in the time of the Romans, but cheefelie
after the comming of the Saxons, and [after them the]
Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare
vnto his owne mansion house, and ¹thereto imparted ¹
the greatest portion ² of his lands vnto sundrie tenants,
[to hold the same of him by coppie of court roll, which
rolles were then kept in some especiall place indif-

¹—¹ are imputed

² part

ferentlie appointed by them and their lord, so that the one could haue no resort vnto them without the other, ¹by which means] the ¹ number of townes and villages was not a little increafed.* If anie man be desirous to know the names of those ancient cities, that stood in the time of the Romans, he shall haue them here at hand, in such wise as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obseruing euen their manner of writing of (of -ing of). them so neare as to me is possible, [without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the same.]

Names of Eng-
lish cities stand-
ing in Roman
times.

1. London
otherwise
called { Trenouanton.
Cair Lud.
Londinum or Longidinium.
Augusta, of the legion Augusta that
soiourned there, when the Romans
ruled here.

- 2 Yorke o-
therwise
called { Cairbranke.
Vrouicum or Yurewjc.
Eorwjc [or Eoforwjc.]
Yeworwjc.
Eboracum.
Victoria, of the legion victrix that laie
there sometime.

[*Leouitus*
placeth yorke in
Scotland de
eclipsions.
A legion con-
tained sixtie
centuries,
thirtie man-
ipuli, three
cohortes.]

- 3 Cantur-
burie { Duroruerno *alids* Duraruenco.
Dorobernia.
Cantwarbirie.

- 4 Colche-
ster { Cair Colon.
Cair Colden.
Cair Colkin [of Coilus.]
Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth
thereby.
Colonia, [of the colonie planted there by
the Romans.] { Plin. lib. 2. ca. 75.
Coloncester. { Tacitus.
Camulodunum. { Ptolome.]

¹ wherby the

* increased among us

Names of
ancient English
cities that stood
in the times of
the Romans.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|
| 5 | Lincolne | { | Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that stood
about it. |
| | | { | Cair Loichoit, by corruption. |
| | | { | Lindum. |
| | | { | Lindocollinum. |
| 6 | Warwije | { | Cair Guttelin. |
| | [had some-
time 9
parish
churches.] | { | Cair Line [or Cair Leon.] |
| | | { | Cair Gwair. |
| | | { | Cair Vmber. |
| | | { | Cair Gwaerton. |
| 7 | Chefter vpon
Vske [was a fa-
mous vniuersi-
tie in the time
of Arthur.] | { | Cair legion. |
| | | { | Carlheon. |
| | | { | Cairlium. |
| | | { | Legecester. |
| | | { | Ciuitas legionum. |
| 8 | Carleill | { | Cair Lueill. |
| | | { | Cair Leill. |
| | | { | Lugibalia. |
| | | { | [Cair Doill.] |
| 9 | S. Albanes | { | Cair Maricipit. |
| | | { | Cair Municip. |
| | | { | Verolanium. |
| | | { | Verlamcester. |
| | | { | Cair Wattelin, of the street wheron it
stood. |
| 10 | Win-
chester. | { | Cair Gwent. |
| | | { | Cair Gwin. |
| | | { | Cair Wine. |
| | | { | Venta Simenorum. |
| 11 | Cisce-
ter. | { | Cair Churne. |
| | | { | Cair Kyrne. |
| | | { | Cair Kery. |
| | | { | Cair Cery. |
| | | { | Cirnecester |
| | | { | Churnecester. |

- 12 Silce- { Cair Segent.
fter. { Selecefter.
- 13 Bath. { Cair Badon.
{ Thermæ.
{ Aquæ solis.
- 14 Shaftes- { Cair Paladour.
byry { Septonia.
- 15 Worces- { Wigornia.
ter. { Cair Gworangon.
{ Brangonia.
{ Cair Frangon.
{ Woorkecefter.
- 16 Chiche- { Cair Key [or Kair Kis.]
fter. { Cair Chic.
- 17 Bristow { Cair Oder nant Badon.
{ Oder.
{ Cair Bren.
{ Venta Belgarum.
{ Brightstow.
- 18 Ro- { Durobreuis, corruptlie { Durobrouis.
chest. { Rofcefter. { Dubobrus.
{ Roffa. { Durobrius.
- 19 Portche- { Cair Peris.
fter. { Cair Poreis.
- 20 Cair- { Cair Maridunum.
marden { Cair Merdine.
{ Maridunum.
{ Cair Marlin.
{ Cair Fridhin.
- 21 Glocester. { Cair Clowy.
{ Cair Glow.
{ Claudiocestria.

[Cair Segent
stood upon the
Thames, not
farre from
Reding.]

[¹ p. 191]

Ancient English
cities in Roman
times.

- | | | |
|----|------------------|--|
| 22 | Leir-
cefter. | { [Cair Beir.]
Cair Leir.
Cair Lirion.
Wirall, teste. Matth. West. 895. |
| 23 | Cam-
bridge. | { [Grantabric.]
Cair Graunt. |
| | | { 24 Cair Vrnach [peradventure Burgh
castell.] |
| | | { 25 Cair Cucurat. |
| | * | { 26 Cair Draiton, [now a slender
village.] |
| | | { 27 Cair Celennon. |
| | | { 28 Cair Megwaid. |

Cair Dorme,
on the Nene in
Huntingdon-
shire.

Alclud

a march town,

now Dumbar-
ton.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewise) it stood somewhere vpon [the] Nene in Huntingdonshire, but now vnknowne, fith it was twise raced to the ground, first by the Saxons, then by the Danes, so that the ruines thereof are [in these daies] not extant to be seene. And in like sort I am ignorant where ¹ most of them ¹ stood, that are noted [with] the star. [I find in like sort mention of a noble citie called *Alclud*, ouer and beside these afore mentioned, sometime builded by *Etracus* of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie destroyed by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It stood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betweene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the west, and was sometime march betweene the Britons and the Piets, and likewise the Piets and the Scots; neuer the lesse, the castell (as I heare) dooth yet remaine, and hath beene since well repared by the Scots, and called *Dombrittain* or *Dumbrifton*, so that it is not an hard matter by these few words to find where *Alclud* stood. I could here, if leifure serued, and hast of the printer [did ²] not require dispatch, deliuer the ancient names of fundrie other townes, of which Stafford in

¹—¹ they

² Not in orig.—F.

time past was called Stadtford, and therefore (as I gesse) builded, or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebantun now Kimbalton. But if anie man be desirous to see more of them, let him resort to *Hoveden* in the life of Henrie the second, and there he shall be further satisfied of his desire in this behalfe.]

Stafford.

See Hoveden's
Life of Hen. II.

It should seeme when those ancient cities flourished, that the same towne which we now call saint Albons, did most of all excell: but cheefelie in the Romans time, and was [not onelie] nothing inferior to London it selfe, but rather preferred before it, bicause it was newer, and ¹ made a *Municipium* ¹ of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, [as the most part of the Iland was also in those daies.] Good notice hereof also is to be taken by *Matthew Paris*, and others before him, out of whose writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the maiestie of this ancient citie may appeare vnto posteritie, and the former estate of Verlamcester not lie altogether (as it hath doone hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of such as might haue deserued better of their successours, by leauing the description thereof in a booke by it selfe, fith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are lost and perished. *Tacitus* in the foureteenth booke of his historie maketh mention of it, shewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miserable distressed, *Eadem clades* (saith he) *municipio Verolamio fuit*. And herevpon *Nennius* in his catalog of cities calleth it *Cair municip*,² as I before haue noted. *Ptolome* speaking of it, dooth place it among the *Catyeuchlanes*, but *Antoninus* maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing *Sullomaca* nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that *Sullomaca* stood³ neere to Barnet, if it were not the [verie] same. Of the [old] compassse of

when Albane
was martyred
Asclepiodotus
was legat in
Britaine.St Alban's was a
finer town than
London.Notes from
Matthew Paris
about St
Alban's.Tacitus men-
tions it.Sullomaca and
Barnet all
one, or not far
in sunder.¹—¹ a colony² *Municip*³ stood very

The difference
between 'Muni-
cipium' and
'Colonia Ro-
manorum.'

The Romans
gave the
inhabitants of
St Alban's the
whole freedom
of Romans.

'Municipium'

and 'Colonia'
defin'd.

A.D. 959-75
Abbot Eldred
dug in the
ruins of Vero-
lamium,

and found many
pillars, door-
frames,

the walles of *Verolamium* there is ¹ now small knowledge to be had ¹ by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it selfe you shall partlie vnderstand by that which followeth at hand, [after I haue told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betweene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, sith *Colonia aliud traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes aliunde in ciuitatem ueiunt, suisque iuribus & legibus viuunt*: moreouer their soile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the stedfast freendship and protection of the Romans, as did fomtime the Ceretes, who were the first people which euer obtained that priuilege. The British *Verolamians* therefore, hauing for their noble seruice in the warres deserued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole freedome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more free in truth than their *Colonies* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie infranchised and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of hir former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonia* is a companie sent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to possesse either a citie newlie builded, or to replenish the same from whence hir former citizens haue beene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.]

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being desirous to inlarge that house, it came into his mind to search about in the ruines of *Verolamium* (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to see if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garnish his building taken in hand. To be short, he had no sooner begun to dig among the rubbis, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, peeces of antike worke, thresholds, doore frames, and fundrie other

¹ yet some mencyon

peeces of fine masonrie for windowes and such like, window-frames
 verie conuenient for his purpose. Of these also some
 were of porphyrite stone, some of diuerse kinds of of porphyry,
 marble, touch, and alabafter, beside manie curious
 deuises of hard mettall; in finding whereof he thought devices in
 himselfe an happie man, and his succeffe to be greatlie metal,
 guided by S. Albane. Besides these also he found
 fundrie pillers of brasse, and sockets of latton, pillars of brass,
 [alabafter and touch,] all which he laid aside by great heaps, sockets of
 determining in the end (I saie) to laie the foundation latton, &c.
 of a new abbaie; but God so preuented his determina-
 tion, that death tooke him awaie, before his building
 was begun. After him succeeded one Eadmerus, who
 followed ¹ the dooings of Eldred to the vttermoſt: and
 therefore not onlie perused what he had left with great
 diligence, but also caused his pioners to search ² yet Eadmer carried
 further, within the old walles of *Verolanium*, where on Eldred's
 they not onelie found infinite [other] peeces of excel- search in old
 lent workmanship, but came at the laſt to certeine Verolanium,
 vaults vnder the ground, in which stood diuers idols, and [? p. 192]
 not a few altars, verie superſtitiouslie and religiouslie
 adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of
 neceſſitie. These images were of fundrie mettals, and
 some of pure gold, their altars likewise were richlie
 couered, all which ornaments Edmerus tooke awaie, and found there
 and not onelie conuerted them to other vse in his idols and
 building, but also destroied an innumerable sort of other altars,—
 idols, whose estimation consisted in their formes, and
 substances could doo no seruice. He tooke vp also ³
 fundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruses of stone and wood
 most artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in such
 quantitie, besides infinite store of fine household stuffe, as
 if the whole furniture of the citie had beene brought
 thither of purpose to be hidden in those vaults. In pro-
 ceeding further, he tooke vp diuerſe pots of gold, siluer, the idols of gold,
 brasse,⁴ glasse [and earth,] whereof some were filled the altars
and curiously
wrought pots
and jugs,
some of gold,
silver, glass,
filled with

¹ prosequuted³ moreouer⁴ brasse and

ashes of the
Gentiles, like
others found in
a well at Mass-
ingham about
1578 A.D.

with the ashes and bones of the gentils, [the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers also of late in a well at little Maffingham in Norffolke, of six or eight gallons a peece, about the yeare 1578, and also in the time of Henrie the eight)] and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which vessels the said abbat brake into peeces, and melting the mettall, he referued it in like fort for the garnishing of his church.

Eadmer also
found 2 books¹
of the Rites of
the Gentiles, and
the Martyrdom
of St Alban.
*This soundeth
like a lie.*

He found likewise in a stone wall two old bookes, whereof one contained the rites of the gentils, about the sacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now saie) the martyrdome of faint Albane, both of them written in old Brittish letters, which, either bicause no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not woorth the keeping, were both consumed to ashes, fauing that a few notes were first taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of *Verolanium*, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found since that time, and diuerse within the memorie of man, of passing workmanship, the like whereof hath no whers else beene seene in anie ruines within the compasse of this¹ Ile, either for cost or quantitie of stuffe.

Many beautiful
remains have
been lately
found in old
Verulam.

The Thames
never came up
to St Alban's,
but the Verlume
did and doos.

It's now very
small,

Furthermore, whereas manie² are not afraid to saie that the Thames came sometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing so; but that the Verlume (afterward called Vere and the Mure) did and³ dooth so [still] (whatsoever *Gildas* talketh hereof, whose books may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident prooffe to be confirmed by experience. [For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie small, by reason of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old course, and

¹ the

² dyuers

³ or

runneth betweene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is standing on Holmechirft crag, as I beheld of late. Those places also which now are meadow beneath the abbaie, were sometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the said riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie swift and violent course, whereas at this present it is verie flow, and of no such deapth as of ancient times it hath beene.] But ¹ heare what mine author saith further of the same.¹ As those afor said workemen digged in these ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet shels, peeces of rustie anchors, and keeles of great vessels; wherevpon, some by and by gathered that either the Thames or some arme of the sea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderstanding that these things might aswell happen in great lakes and meres, wherof there was one adioining to the north side of the citie, which laie then [(as some men thinke)] vnwalld, [but that also is false. For being there vpon occasion this summer passed, I saw some remnant of the old wals standing in that place, which appeared to haue beene verie substantiallie builded; the ruines likewise of a greater part of them are to be seene running along by the old chappell hard by, in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne standeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the historie of S. Albane speaketh, was at the nether end of Halliwell street or there about, for so the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture.] This mere [(which the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by *Humfrey Lhoid* our countrie man, calleth corruptlie *Stagnum enaximum* for *Stagnum maximum*)] at the first belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no small commoditie. It continued also vntill the time of Alfrijc the seuenth abbat of that house, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by excessiue charges drained it so

¹—¹ thus standeth the case

and runs between the old town and the new.
St Alban's Abbey meadows were once a great lake.

In the ruins of old Verulam were found shells, anchors, &c.

I was at St Alban's last summer [1586,] and saw how solid the old walls were.

The old bridge was at the lower end of Halliwell St.

Humphrey Lhoyd's '*Britannia*.'

Abbot Alfric
draind the St
Alban's Abbey
lakes.
(‘her’ for ‘its’.)

narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie [(sauing that he referued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vsuall course, which he held vp with high bankes)] bicause there was alwaies contention betweene the moonks and the kings seruants, which fished on that water [vnto the kings behoofe.]

Its name still
remains in Fish-
pool St.

In these daies therefore¹ remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one street, which yet is called Fishpoole street, wherof this may suffice for the resolution of such men, as seeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, than that their *Gildas* should seeme to mistake this riuer.

I can't get the
names of all our
towns and
villages.

Hauing thus digressed to giue some remembrance of the old estate of *Verolanium*, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpose. Certes I would gladlie set downe, with the names and number of the cities, all the townes, and villages in England and Wales, [with their true longitudes and latitudes,] but as yet I cannot come by them in such order as I would : howbeit the tale of our cities is soone found by the bishoprikes, fith euerie see hath such prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie,² & to vse *Regaleius* within hir owne limits. Which priuilege also is granted to fundrie ancient townes in England, especially northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the south. The names therefore of our cities are these :³

The names of
our 26 Cities are
these.

London.	Worcester.	Chester.
Yorke.	Glocester.	Chichester.
Canturburie.	Hereford.	Oxford.
Winchester.	Salisbury.	Peterborow.
Cairleill.	Excester.	Landaffe.
Durham.	Bath.	S. Davids.
Elie.	Lichfield.	Bangor.
Norwich.	Bristow.	S. Afaph.
Lincolne.	Rocheester.	

¹ there

²⁻³ As

Whose particular plots and models with their descriptions shall insue, if it may be brought to passe, that the cutters can make dispatch of them before this chronologie¹ be published. Of townes and villages likewise thus much will I saie, that there were greater store in old time [(I meane within three or foure hundred yeare passed)] than at this present. And this I note out of diuerse records, charters, and donations (made in times past vnto sundrie religious houses, as Glaffenburie, Abbandon, Ramfeie, Elie, and such like) and² whereof in these daies I find not so much as the ruines. *Leland*, in sundrie places, complaineth likewise of the decaie of parishes in great cities and townes, missing in some, six, or eight, or twelue churches [and more,] of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well³ more [at their first coming,] yet since the first [two] hundred yeares after the latter conquest, they haue gone⁴ so fast againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated. *Ranulph* the moonke of Chester telleth of generall surueie made in the fourth, [sixteenth, & nineteenth] of the reigne of William Conqueror, surnamed the Bastard, wherein it was found, that (notwithstanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parish churches, and 75000 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerse other builded since that time, within the space of an hundred yeares after the coming of the Bastard, as it were in lieu or recompense of those that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forrest. [For by an old booke which I haue, and sometime written as it seemeth by an vnderhiriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen⁵ in the time of *Edw. 4.* 45120 parish churches, and but

I'll give Plans
of our 26 Cities,
if the Cutters
are quick
enough.

Many old towns
and villages
have disapp-
peared,

as Ieland bears
witness.

[3 p. 193]

Ranulphus
says that A.D.
1070-85

there were
in England
52,000 towns,
and 45,000
parish churches.

A.D. 1461-98
there were
45,120
parish churches.

¹ hystory

² that there were many townes and villages

⁴ gone againe

⁵ orig. euen

Now, we've not
above 17,000
towns and
villages.

60216 knights fees, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the least 28000: for so small is the difference which he dooth seeme to vse.] Howbeit, if the assertions of such as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you shall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, [and 9210] in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforefaid number, if it be throughlie scanned.

Lincoln had
once 52 parish-
churches (38 for
certain), but
now has only
24.

[Certes this misfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto most of the famous countries of the world heretofore, and all by the greedie desire of such as would liue alone and onelie to themselves. And hereof we may take example in Candie, of old time called Creta, which (as *Homer* writeth) was called *Hetacompolis*, bicause it contained an hundred cities, but now it is so vnfurnished that it may hardlie be called *Tripolis*. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which so decaied in proceffe of time, that when *Ptolomeus Lagus* reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our daies, both in all Asia & Aegypt this lesser number shall not verie readilie be¹ found. In time past in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue beene two and fiftie parish churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now, if there be foure and twentie, it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monasteries and religious houses, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.]

This decay of
houses

comes from the
eating-up of
the poor by the
rich.

But to leaue this lamentable discourse of so notable [and greeuous] an inconuenience, growing [(as I said)] by incroching and ioining of house to house, and [laieng] land to land, whereby the inhabitants of² manie places of our³ countrie are deuoured and eaten³ vp and their houses either altogither pulled downe or

¹ orig. he

³ ate

²—² any

suffered to decaie by litle and litle,¹ although sometime a poore man peradventure dooth dwell in one of them,—who, not being able to repaire it, suffereth it to fall downe,—& thereto thinketh himselfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground assigned vnto him, whereon to keepe a cow, or wherein to set cabages, radishes, parsneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or such like stuffe, by which he and his poore household liueth as by their principall food, fith they can doo no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themselves in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie:² a poore estate God wot! Howbeit, what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled sometime in good tenements, there be now no houses at all, but hopyards, and theads for poles, or peradventure gardens, as we may see in castell Hedingham, and diuerse other places. But to proceed.]

It is so, that our foile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houses of the first lie vni-formelie builded in euerie towne together, with streets and lanes; whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they stand scattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midst of his owne occupieng. And as in ³manie and most great market townes,³ there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or mansions,⁴ & two thousand communicants, or peradventure more: so in the other, [whether they be woodland or champaine,] we find not often aboue fortie,⁵ fiftie, [or three score] households, and two [or three] hundred communicants, whereof the greatest part neuerthelesse are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, fith the

Sometimes a poor man 'll live in a house till it tumbles down;

and is lucky if he gets an acre of ground for his cow, or the garden-stuff

on which his family live, (cp. *Piers Plowman*, B. Pass. 6.)

with oaten or barley bread.

Other house-sites are now gardens, as in Castle Hedingham.

Our country-town houses are in streets: the woodland ones stand separate.

Market-towns hold 300 or 400 families; villages, from 40 to 60,

mainly very poor folk.

¹ See on this my *Ballads from MSS.* i.; Mr Cowper's edition of *Life in Tudor England, Four Supplications*, and Crowley's *Select Works*, for the Early English Text Soc.; More's *Utopia*, &c.—F.

² See above, p. 153.—F.

⁴ mansion houses

³—³ eury one of the first

⁵ fortie or

All the ground
of some parishes
is in 1, 2, or 3
men's hands.

ground of the parish is¹ gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea sometimes into the tenure of [one] two or three, whereby the rest are compelled, either to be hired seruants vnto the other, or else to beg their bread in miserie from doore to doore.

Some landlords
pull down all
the poor folks'
houses in a
town.

[There are some (saith *Leland*) which are not so fauourable when they haue gotten such lands, as to let the houses remaine vpon them to the vse of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the soile to pull them downe for altogether, saieing that 'if they did let them stand, they should but toll beggers to the towne, therby to surcharge the rest of the parish, & laie more burden vpon them.' But, alas! these pitifull men see not that they themselues hereby doo laie the great-est log vpon their neighbors necks. For sith the prince

But this makes
the remaining
inhabitants pay
heavier taxes.

dooth commonlie loofe nothing of his duties accustomed to be paid, the rest of the parishioners that remaine, must answer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, saieing; "I am charged alreadie with a light horffe; I am to answer in this fort, and after that maner." And it is not yet altogether

Once a tax of
£7 13s. was
shar'd by 50
house-holders,
but now by 4
only.

out of knowledge, that where the king had seuen pounds thirteene shillings at a taske gathered of fiftie wealthie householders of a parish in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure households doo beare all the foresaid paiment, or else *Leland* is deceiued in his Commentaries, lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he especially noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormittie, both in the hart of the land, and likewise vpon the coasts. Certes] a great number

Increase of
Poverty.

complaine of the increafe of pouertie,² [laieing the cause vpon God, as though he were in fault for sending such increafe of people, or want of wars that should consume them, affirming that the land was neuer so full, &c:] but few men doo see the verie root from whence it

The land never
so full.

¹ is often

² See above, p. 213.—F.

dooth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they florished, and therefore prescribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. *Homer* commendeth *Achilles* for ouerthrowing of fife and twentie cities: but in mine opinion *Ganges* is much better preferred by *Suidas* for building of three score in Inde, where he did plant himselfe. I could (if need required) set downe in this place the number of religious houses and monasteries, with the names of their founders, that haue beene in this Iland: but sith it is a thing of small importance, I passe it ouer as impertinent to my purpose. Yet herein I will commend fundrie¹ of the monastickall votaries, especiallie moonkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, neere vnto their dwellings, although otherwise they pretended to be men separated from the world. But alas! their couetous minds, one waie in enlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent an other, appeered herin too too much. For, being bold from time to time to visit their tenants, they wrought oft² great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodelhouses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearfall of these filthineses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced³ to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, [if I might haue brought it to passe].

The Romans wisely refus'd to let any man hold too much land.

I praise the Monks for building townements near their Monasteries.

But they often turn'd their
[? p. 194]

tenants' houses into brothel-houses, when they had no Nunneries near to go to.

I can't give the numbers of Market-towns and Pariah-churches in more than 18 shires.

¹ manye

³ inforced

The Market-
towns and
Parishes in 18
Shires of Eng-
land.

<i>Shires.</i>	<i>Market townes.</i>	<i>Parishes.</i>
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Sarrie.	6	140
Suffex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northhampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southhampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Elfex.	18	415 ¹

Of castels and holds.

Chap. 14.²

Castles not
needed in
England.

[I T hath beene of long time a question in controuerfie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels, neere cities, or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Neuertheles it seemeth by our owne experience, that we here in Eng-

¹ And these I had of a friende of myne, by whose traucyle and hys maisters excessive charges I doubt not, but my country men eare long shall see all Englande set forth in seuerall shyres after the same manner that Ortelius hath dealt wyth other countries of the mayne, to the great benefite of our nation and euerlasting fame of the aforesayde parties.

² In the 1677 ed. this forms chap. 8 of Book 2.—F.

land suppose them altogether vnneedfull. This also is apparant by the testimonie of fundrie writers, that they haue beene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Salisburie, I speake not; of Anwarpe, I saie nothing more than of fundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part, I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting thereon, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the fame, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confusion. *Aristotle* vtterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. *Timotheus* of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a breeder of tyrants. *Pyrhus* king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Atheus, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the freendlie intertainment; but with this item, that 'they should let so few kings come into the same as they might; leaft (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentleneffe.' *Caletanus*, in his common-wealth, hath finallie no liking of them, as appeereth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe, so far as shall be needfull?]

Castles—the owners of them—have been the ruin of many a city.

A Castle in a Commonwealth is a breeder of tyrants.

Caletanus's 'Common-wealth,' Bk 8.

There haue beene in times past, great store of castles & places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as ¹ them listed ¹ vpon their owne demeafnes, hoping

Great store of Castles formerly in England.

Most about Stephen's time.

¹—¹ they would

*Henry the
thirde also
raised diners.*

Henry II.

*levell'd 1100
of his Barons'
castles.*

*And since,
many have
decayd. (See
'Ballads from
MSS.,' i. 94.)*

*There are very
few castles now
kept up, except
on our coasts
and Marches.*

*Henry VIII.
repair'd many
castles.*

thereby that they would haue imploied their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie, when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease, king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predeceffour had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine, by those fortifications. Therefore, one of the first things he did, was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the meeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gaine saie manie of those proceedings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their [said] castels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restrained. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decayed [partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie] of themselues, [or by conuerfion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remooued:] so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all maintained within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie, for the better keeping backe of the forren enimie, when foeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie, king Henrie the eight, who,¹ beside that he repared most of

¹ sith

such as were alreadie standing,¹ builded fundrie out of the ground. For, hauing shaken off the more than feruile yoke of² popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from queene Catharine his aunt, and thereto [vnderstanding] that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes neece, and married his daughter to the king of Scots, (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect, than safetie to trust, anie one of them all, as *Lambert* saith,) he determined to staid vpon his owne defense; and therefore, with no small speed, and like charge, he builded fundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vterlie put off their hastie purpose of inuasion. [But would to God he had cast his care toward Haruith, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is doone! albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore, and come to land, without resistance.] And thus much brieflie for my purpose at this present. For I need not to make anie long discourse of castels, sith it is not the nature of a good Englishman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with stone wals, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at handstrokes, where he may trauaile his ground, choose his plot, and vse the benefit of sunne shine, wind and weather, to his best aduantage & commoditie. [*Isocrates* also saith that towres, walles, bulworkes, soldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the best keepers of kingdomes; but freends, loue of subiects, & obedience vnto martiall discipline; which they want that shew themselues either cruell or couetous toward their people.] As for those tales that go of

And seeing danger from the Pope, the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Scotland,

Henry VIII. built castles, &c. on his frontiers.

In these dayes the coast of Norfolke is the weakest as may appear by Warburne hope and other places of the same.

[3 p. 195]

Englishmen don't want to be coopt up in stone walls. They like to fight in the open, hand to hand.

[The best keepers of kingdomes.]

¹ standing he

² of the

The brag of the
rebel Hugh
Bigot,

Beston castell, how it shall saue all England on a daie,
and likewise the brag of a rebellious baron in old time
[named Hugh Bigot], that said in contempt of king
Henrie the thirde,¹ [and about the fiftith yere of his
reigne:]

that if he were
in his Castle
he'd not care a
button for
Henry III., is
all gammon.

*If I were in my castell of Bungeie,
Vpon the water of Waueneie,
I wold not set a button by the king of Cockneie*

Bigot's Castles
of Bungay and
Framlingham
were over-
thrown by
Henry III.

I repute them but as toies; the first meere vaine, the
second fondlie vttered (if anie such thing were said), as
manie other words are, and haue beene, spoken of like
holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of
memorie, and with small losse not heard of among the
common sort. [Certes the castell of Bungeie was ouer-
thrown by the aforesaid prince, the same yere that he
ouerthrew the walles and castell of Leircester, also the
castels of Trefke and Malefar, appertaining to Roger
Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging like-
wise to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie follow-
ing you may read at large. I might here in like sort
take occasion to speake of fundrie strong places where
camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great
plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I
passe ouer to talke of any such needlesse discourses.
This neuerthelesse concerning two of them is not to be
omitted, to wit, that the one neere vnto Cambridge, now
Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as
I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to saie the
truth, I haue often heard them named Winterburie
hilles, which difference may easlie grow by corruption
of the former word: the place likewise is verie large
and strong. The second is to be seene in the edge of
Shropshire about two miles from Colme, betweene two
riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tew'e otherwise
named Themis, wherevnto there is no acceffe but at one

Many old
Camps in Eng-
land.

Of 2 special
ones,
[The wandles in
time past were
called windles.]
Gogmagog Hills,
near Cambridge,
were calld
Winterbury
Hills.

The second, 2
miles from
Colme, was
calld by the
Welsh, Cair
Carador.

¹ third as I gesse

place. The Welshmen call it Cair Carador, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was overcome there by Ostorius, at such time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for succour, who betrayed him to the Romans, as you may see in *Tacitus*.]

Of palaces belonging to
the prince.¹

Chap. 15.²

IT lieth not in me to set down exactly the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make any description of his graces court, with my calling is, and hath beene such, as that I have scarcely presumed to peep in at his gates; much lesse then have I adventured to search out and know the estate of those houses, and what magnificent behaviour is to be seene within them. Yet thus much will I say generally of all the houses and honours³ pertaining to his majesty,³ that they are builded either of square stone or bricke, or else of both. And therunto, although their capacite and hugeness be not so monstrous, as the like of diverse forren princes are to be seene in the maine, [and new found nations of the world:] yet are they so curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for convenience⁴ of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of situation, which is not the least thing to be considered of [in building]. Those that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, retaine to these daies the shew and image of the ancient kind of workmanship used in this land: but such as he erected [after his owne devise (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperor

It's not for me to describe Queen Elizabeth's Palaces,

I've hardly dar'd peep in at her gates.

Her houses are of stone or brick,

not so huge as foreign princes',

but as neat and well situated as any of them.

Palaces before Hen. VIII. are in the old style.

¹ and court of England ² In 1677 ed. this forms Chap. 9 of Book 2.—F.

³—³ appertaining unto his grace

⁴ convenience

[*King Hen. 8.
not inferior to
Adrian and
Justinian.*]

Best masonry in
Hen. VIII.'s
time.
Elizabethan
buildings are
more like paper
work.

Henry VIII.'s
are better.

Q. Elizabeth's
Palace.

Baynard's
Castle, in
London,

with the Tower
Royal there.

white hall.

Durham Place.

Somerset Place.

and Justinian the lawgiuer)] doo represent another maner of paterne, which, as they are supposed to excell all the rest that he found standing in this realme, so they are and shall be a perpetuall president vnto those that doo come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes masonrie did neuer better flourish in England than in his time. And albeit that in these daies there be manie goodlie houses erected in the sundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie [like paper worke,] than substantiall for continuance: whereas such as he did set vp, excell in both, and therefore may iustlie be preferred [farre] aboue all the rest. The names of those which come now to my remembrance, [and are as yet reserued to hir maiesties onelie vse at pleasure] are these: [for of such as are giuen awaie I speake not, neither of those that are vtterlie decayed, as Bainards castell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whose wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the first; neither of the tower roiall there also, &c: sith I see no cause wherefore I should remember them and manie of the like, of whose verie ruines I haue no certaine knowledge. Of such I saie therefore as I erst mentioned, we haue] first of all, White hall at the west end of London (which is taken for the most large & principall of all the rest) was [first a lodging of the archbishops of Yorke, then pulled downe,] begun by cardinall Woolfeie, and [finallie] enlarged and finished by king Henrie the eight. ¹[By east of this standeth Durham place, sometime belonging to the bishops of Durham, but conuerted also by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerfet place I speake not, yet if the first beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerfet) had liued, I doubt not but

¹ Neere unto y is

it should haue bene well finished and brought to a sumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that house & from vs all, so it proued the staie of such proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it cometh to passe that it standeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and house of munition, and therevnto a place for the safekeeping of offenders, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to sojourne in. Yet in times past I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the site of his palace in such wise, that it stretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in so much that it approched neere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought, some of the ruines of his house are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouses in that tract of ground in our times.] S. James, sometime a nonrie, [was] builded also¹ by the same prince. Hir grace hath also Oteland, Athridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enueeld, [Eltham, Langleie,] Richmond [builded by Henrie the fift], Hampton court (begun sometime by cardinall Woolfeie, and finished by hir father), and therevnto Woodstocke, erected by king² Henrie the first,³ in which the queenes maiestie delighteth greatlie to sojourne, notwithstanding that in time past it was the place of [a parcell of] hir captiuitie, when it pleased God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

For strength, Windlesor or Winfor is supposed to be the cheefe, a castell builded in time past by king Arthur, [or before him by Aruiragus,] as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected also a notable college there. After him, diuerse of his successours haue bestowed exceeding charges vpon the same, which notwithstanding are farre surmounted by the queenes maiestie now liuing, who hath appointed huge summes of monie to be emploied vpon the ornature and alter-

Somerset Place is left unfinished as when the Protector Somerset died.

The Tower of London is rather an armoury and prison than a Palace for the Queen to live in.

Billinggate.

S. James.

Oteland.

Ashridge.

Hatfield.

Enueeld.

Richmond.

Hampton.

Woodstocke.

Q. Eliz.'s favourite place.

[² p. 196]

Windsor.
the strongest.

Edw. III. built
a College there.

¹ likewise

² seconde

Q. Elizabeth has spent huge sums on altering Windsor Castle. Modern building.

ation of the mould, according to the forme of building vsed in our daies, [which is more for pleasure, than for either profit or safegard.] Such also hath beene the estimation of this place, that diuerse kings haue not onelie beene interred there, but also made it the chiefe house of assemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and statelie.

Greenwich.
Castle

Greenwich was first builded by Humfreie duke of Gloucester, vpon the Thames side foure miles east from London, in the time of Henrie the sixt, and called Pleasance. Afterwards it was greatlie enlarged by king Edw. 4. garnished by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie.

calld 'Pleasance.'
Perfect by the masonry-
Phenix, Henry VIII.

Dartford.

Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much distant also from the southside of the ¹ said streame, sometime a nonnerie [builded by Edward the third], but now a verie commodious palace, wherevnto it was also conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beside these, moreouer, diuerse other. But what shall I need to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houses the queenes maiestie hath? sith all is hers; and when it pleaseth hir in the summer season to recreat hir selfe abroad, and view the estate of the countrie. [and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniured by hir vniust officers or their substitutes,] euerie noble mans house is hir palace, where shee continueth during pleasure, and till shee retorne againe to some of hir owne, in which she remaineth so long as pleaseth hir.

(once a nunnery.)

Eltham.

In summer when the Queen makes her Progresses, to right poor folks' wrongs, every nobleman's house is hers.

Of the court.

Q. Elizabeth's Court is one of the most renowned in Europe.

The court of England, which necessarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in these daies one of the most renowned and magnificent courts ² that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich

¹ that ² For her Household in 1600-1, see *H. Ord.*, p. 281.—F.

and infinit furniture of household, order of officers, or the intertainment of such strangers as dailie resort vnto the same, you shall not find manie equall therevnto much lesse one excelling it in anie maner of wife. I might here (if I would, or had sufficient disposition of matter conceiued of the same,) make a large discourse of such¹ honorable ports, of such graue counsellors, and noble personages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the queenes maiestie there. I could in like sort set foorth a singular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of such ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir person, betweene whose amiable countenances and costliness of attire, there seemeth to be such a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to gesse, whether of the twaine shall beare awaie the preheminance. This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vse and skill of sundrie speeches, beside an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. [Would to God the rest of their liues and conuersations were correspondent to these gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best lerned and indued with excellent gifts, so are manie of them the worst men when they come abroad, that anie man shall either heare or read of.] Trulie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to saie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beside sound knowledge of the Greeke and Latine toongs, are thereto no lesse skilfull in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me: sith I am perswaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen doo surmount in this behalfe, so these come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts: which industrie, God continue, [and accomlish that which otherwise is wanting!]

Elizabeth's
Maids of
Honour.

Their lovenable
faces and costely
attire.

English courtiers
the best
learned (& the
worst liuers.)

They know
languages, and
write well, too.

The men are
licentious and
bad.

Ladies know
Greek,
Latin, Spanish,
Italian, French.

And noblemen
surpass them.

¹ the

Old Court-ladies
work, spin,

and read the
Bible or His-
tories,

and write or
translate.
The young
Ladies play
music for re-
creation in their
leisure time.

Old Ladies are
skilful in
surgery and
medicine.

And every Lady
can cook choise
dishes, mainly
after Portuguese
recipes.

Bills of Fare or
'Cartes' just
brought in:

call'd Memorials,
Billots, or
Fillets.

Beside these things, I could in like sort set downe the waies and meanes, wherby our ancient ladies of the court doo shun and auoid idleneffe, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulworke, diuerse in spinning of filke, some in continuall reading either of the holie scriptures, or histories of our owne or forren nations about vs, [and diuerse in writing volumes of their owne, or translating of other mens into our English and Latine toong,¹] whilest the youngest ² fort in the meane time applie their lutes, citharnes, pricke-fong, and all kind of musike, which they vse onelie for recreation ³ sake, when they haue leifure, and are free from attendance vpon the queenes maiestie, or such as they belong vnto. [How manie of the eldest fort also are skilfull in surgerie and distillation of waters, beside fundrie other artificiall practises pertaining to the or-nature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I list'd to deale further in this behalfe) easilie declare, but I passe ouer such maner of dealing, least I should seeme to glauer, and currie fauour with some of them. Neuerthelesse this I will generallie saie of them all, that as ech of them are cuning in somthing wherby they keepe themselues occupied in the court, so there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to supplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat dishes of their owne deuising, wherein the Portingall is their cheefe counsellor, as some of them are most commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vseth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a breefe rehearfall of such and so manie dishes as are to come in at euerie course throughout the whole seruice in the dinner or supper while: which bill some doo call a memoriall, other a billet, but some a fillet, bicause

¹ I suppose that Sir Thomas More, and Henry VIII., and Lady Jane Grey's parents began 'the higher education of women' in England, by having their daughters properly taught. On 'Education in Early England' see my Forewords (tho' sadly imperfect) to the *Babees Book*.—F.

² younger

³ recreation and solace

such are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto some other purpose. But whither am I digressed?]

I might finallie describe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and therevnto the great plentie of gold and siluer plate, the feuerall peeces whereof are commonlie so great and massie, and the quantitie therof so abundantlie seruing all the household, that [(as I suppose) Cyniras, Crefus, and Crassus had not the like furniture: naie] if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choise, I thinke he could aske no more, or rather not halfe so much as is there to be seene and vsed. But I passe ouer to make such needlesse discourses, resoluing my selfe, that euen in this also, [as in all the rest] the exceeding mercie and louing kindnesse of God dooth wonderfullie appeere towards vs, in that he hath so largelie indued vs with these his so ample benefits.

In some great princes courts [beyond the seas, & which euen for that cause are likened vnto hell by diuerse learned writers that haue spent a great part of their time in them, as *Henricus Cornelius Agrippa*, one (for example) who in his epistle *Ad aulicum quen¹dam*, saith thus: *An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio est, qui illic suis artibus humana licet effigie regnant, atque vbi scelerum schola est, & animarum iactura ingens, ac quicquid vsipiam est perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclementiæ, quicquid effrænatae superbiæ, & rapacis auariciæ, quicquid oliscenæ libidinis, fædissimæ impudiciæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum pessimorum, totum illic aceruatur cumulatissimè, vbi stupra, raptus, incestus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi sunt, vbi fastus & tumor, ira, liuor, fædæque cupido cum socijs suis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutumque omnium inenarrabile naufragium, &c.* In such great princes courts (I saie)] it is a world to see what lewd behauiour is vsed among

I pass over the Queen's large household payments and her plate. [See 'Queen Elizabeth's annual expence, civil and military' (A.D. 1578), in 'Household Ordinances,' p. 241-275; and her 'Book of Household,' p. 281-298.]

God's goodness has given us much.

Some beyond-sea courts are

[¹ p. 197] calld 'hell' by Agrippa,

so utterly bad and vicious are they.

The shocking
vices of foreign
courts

are driven out
of Q. Elizabeth's,
or kept under
by her officers.

In every office
is either a Bible,
a Chronicle, or
the like,

so that the
Court looks
like a University
School rather
than a palace.

Would to God
that our nobles'
houses were as
ruled as our
Queen's!

[*Traines of
attendants.*]

diuerse of those that resort vnto the same, and what whoredome, swearing, ribaldrie, atheisme, dicing, carding, carowing, drunkenneffe, gluttonie, quareling, and such like inconueniences doo dailie take hold, and sometimes euen among those, in whose estates ¹ the like ¹ behauiour is least conuenient [(whereby their talke is verified, which say that the ² thing increaseth and groweth in the courts of princes, sauing vertue, which in such places dooth languish and dailie vade away)] all which enormities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, or else so qualified by the diligent endeouour of the chiefe officers of hir graces household, that seldome are anie of these things apparantlie seene there, without due reprehension, and such seuere correction as belongeth to those trespassses. Finallie, to auoid idleneffe, and preuent fundrie transgressions, otherwise likelie to be committed and doone, such order is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, or the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, or both, beside some histories and chronicles lieng therein, for the exercise of such as come into the same: whereby the stranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the sudden, shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publike schoole of the vniuersities, where manie giue care to one that readeth, ³ than into a princes palace, if you conferre ⁴ the same ⁴ with those of other nations. Would to God all honorable personages would take example of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and shew their conformitie vnto these hir so good beginnings! which if they would, then should manie grievous offenses ⁵ (wherewith God is highlie displeased) be cut off and restrained, which now doo reigne exceedinglie, in most noble and gentlemens houses, wherof they see no paterne within hir graces gates.

[I might speake here of the great traines and

¹ such ² every—F. ³ readeth unto them ⁴—⁴ this ⁵ enormities

troopes of serving men also, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their severall liveries, and with differences of cognisances on their sleeves, whereby it is known to whome they apperteyne. I could also set downe what a goodlie sight it is to see them muster in the court, which, being filled with them, dooth yeeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the shew of the pecocks taile in the full beaultie, or of some medow garnished with infinit kinds and diuersitie of pleasant floures.¹ But I passe ouer the rehearfall hereof to other men, who more delite in vaine amplification than I, and seeke to be more curious in these points than I professe to be.]

The troopes of Serving-men in livery, with badges on their sleeves,

when mustered at Court, are as

beautiful as a peacock's tail or a flowery mead.

The [discipline of] firme peace also that is maintained within a certeine compasse of the princes palace, is such, as is nothing inferiour to that we see dailie practised in the best gouerned holds & fortresses. And such is the seuer punishment of those that strike within the limits prohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, or sanctuarie, they are sure to loose their right hands at a stroke, and that in verie solemne maner, the forme whereof I will set downe, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Any man striking another within the Queen's Court, loses his right hand.

At such time therefore as the partie transgressing is conuicted by a sufficient inquest impanelled for the same purpose, and the time come of the execution of the sentence, the sergeant of the kings wood-yard prouideth a square blocke, which he bringeth to some appointed place, and therewithall a great beetle, staple, and cords, wherewith to fasten the hand of the offender vnto the said blocke, vntill the whole circumstance of his execution be performed. The yeoman of the scullarie likewise for the time being, dooth prouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the

Striking within the court and palace of the prince.

How the offender's hand is chopt off.

Coal-fire to heat

¹ Compare Chaucer's Prologue—the Squire. On the evils of serving-men, see Sir T. More's *Utopia*, and my *Ballads from MSS.*, i.—F.

the searing-
iron.

Groom of the
Cellary with
vinegar and cold
water.

Sorjeant-
surgeon to sear
the stump.

Red wine and
manchet bread
for the offender,
when his hand's
chopt off.

Cloth to wrap
the stump in.

Cock to put
to it;

knife to cut
the hand off
with.

Thus are
strickers in Court
punisht.

Sir Edm.
Knevet was
condemnd thus
to lose his
hand; but Hen.
VIII. forgave
him.

Brawls in
churches and
churchyards.

fearing irons are to be made readie, against the chiefe surgeon to the prince or his deputie shall occupie the same. Vpon him also dooth the fergeant or chiefe farrouer attend with those irons, whose office is to deliuer them to the said surgeon, when he shall be redie, by searing, to vse the same. The groome of the salarie for the time being, or his deputie, is furthermore appointed to be readie with vinegar and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offendor be bound vp and fullie dressed. And as these things are thus prouided, so the fergeant surgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and seare the stumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The fergeant of the cellar is at hand also with a cup of red wine, and likewise the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bread, to giue vnto the said partie after the execution doone, and the stumpe seared, as the fergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherin to wind and wrap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandrie with seared cloths, and finallie the maister cooke or his deputie with a sharpe dressing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the fergeant of the larder, who dooth hold it vpriight in his hand, vntill the execution be performed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of punishment ordeined for those that strike within the princes palace, or limits of the same. [Which should first haue beene executed on sir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great sute to saue his right hand for the further seruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yeelded to forgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no small benefit of the offendor, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the prince.] The like priuilege ¹almost is ¹ giuen to churches and churchyards, although in

¹ is almost

maner of punishment great difference doo appeere. For he that bralleth or quarelleth in either of them, is by and by suspended *Ab ingressu ecclesiæ*, vntill he be absolued: as he is also that striketh with the fist, or laieth violent hands vpon anie whome so euer. But if he happen to smite with staffe, dagger, or anie maner of weapon, & the same be sufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beside excommunication, he is sure to loofe one of his eares, without all hope of release.¹ But if he be such a one as hath beene twise condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is seared [deepe] into his flesh; he is from thencefoorth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deserue to be absolued. [To strike a cleрке also, (that is to saie) a minister, is plaine excommunication, and the offendor not to be absolued but by the prince or his especiall commission. Such also is the generall estate of the excommunicate in euery respect, that he can yeeld no testimonie in anie matter so long as he so standeth. No bargaine or sale that he maketh, is auailable in law, neither any of his acts whatsoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as ²an outlaw, & a man altogether out of the princes protection; although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwise outlawed, without the danger of felonie.]

Brawlers in church or churchyard are kept out of church.

Smitters there are excommunicated,

and lose one of their eares for each offence.

On the 3rd offence, they're burnt on the cheek, and the letter F is seared into them.

Excommunication for striking a Clerk.

The penalties of Excommunication.

[² p. 198]

¹ recouerye

Of armour and munition.

Chap. 16.¹

We were short
of armour and
artillery in
Queen Mary's
time,

as a Spanish
peer noted.

But as soon as
Q. Elizabeth
came to the
throne, the
want was
remedied, and
we were well
supplied,

to the dis-
appointment of
the Spaniards.

HOW well or how stronglie our countrie hath beene furnished in times past with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my felse to make reherfall. Yet that it lacked both in the late time of queen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but also the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue some manifest notice. Vpon the first I need not stand, for few will denie it. For the second, I haue heard, that when one of the greatest peeres of Spaine espied our nakednesse in this behalfe, and did solemnelie vtter in no obscure place, that 'it should be an easie matter in short time to conquer England, bicause it wanted armor,' his words were then not so rashlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the present time their efficacie was disabled, and semblance made as though he spake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gracious queene vnto the possession of the crowne, they were so prouidentlie called to remembrance, and such speedie reformation sought of all hands for the redresse of this inconuenience, that our countrie was sooner furnished with armour and munition, from diuerse parts of the maine, (beside great plentie that was forged here at home), than our enimies could get vnderstanding of anie such prouision to be made. By this policie also was the no small hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who, of open freends being now become our secret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue some heauie exploit against vs and our countrie,² did therevpon change their purposes, whereby England obtained rest, that otherwise might haue beene

¹ In 1577 ed. this forms Chap. 12 of Bk 2.—F.

² 1588 was the Armada year.—F.

sure of sharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spanishe word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew, or at the least wise hindered, fundrie priuie practises of manie at another. In times past the cheefe force of England consisted in their long bowes.¹ But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed doo practise to shoot compasse for our pastime: which kind of shooting can neuer yeeld anie smart stroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were woont to doo at euerie time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in respect of their corslets, will not let, in open skirmish, if anie leifure serue, to turne vp their tailes and crie: "Shoote English," and all bicause our strong shooting is decayed and laid in bed. But if some of our Englishmen now liued that serued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of such a varlet should haue bene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he should haue turned about to see who shot the first. But as our shooting is thus in manner vtterlie decayed among vs one waie, so our countrie men wax skilfull in fundrie other points, as in shooting in small peeces, the caluer, and handling of the pike, in the feuerall vses whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore consisteth of corslets, almaine riuets,² shirts of maile, iackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fustian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are sowed in the same, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The said armour and munition likewise³ is kept in one feuerall place [of euerie towne,] appointed by the con-

The English
Long-Bow of
old time.

Shooting com-
pass
is no good.

The French and
Toutons turn up
their tailes, and
bid us shoot.

But if the Eng-
lish of Crecy
and Poitiers
had been here,
they'd have put
2 arrows into
such a man
before he could
have turned to
see who shot
the first.

Still, we shoot
well with the
caluer.

Kinds of
armour:—
rivets, jacks, &c.

Every town
and village has
its armoury.

¹ See Ascham's *Toxophilus*. When our folk and Government come to their senses, every English boy and man 'll be taught rifle-shooting; ranges will be provided by compulsory powers; and every male over 16 be made sure of his man in any invading force. If then any such force wants to come, let it, and find its grave.—F.

² riuets

³ also

Men of arms
and armour
inspected in
every town.

Even the poorest
village has arms
and armour for
8 or 4 soldiers.

Altogether, we
had in 1574-5,
1,172,674 able
Men. [See the
Noa. for each
county, in
'Household
Ordinances,' p.
270-1.]

Of munitions
and armour,

England never
had better store
than now.

sent of the whole parish, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime also it is occupied, when it pleaseth the magistrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the same, or finallie to see those that are inrolled to exercise each one his feuerall weapon, [at the charge of the townesmen of each parish] according to his appointment. Certes there is almost no village so poore in England (be it neuer so small) that hath not sufficient furniture in a readinesse to set forth three or foure foldiors, as ¹ one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the least. No, there is not so much wanting as their verie lieries and caps, which are least to be accounted of, if anie haft required: [so that if this good order may continue, it shall be vnpossible for the sudden enemie to find vs vnprovided. As for able men for seruice, thanked be God, we are not without good store; for by the musters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1,172,674, and yet were they not so narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vn timer and vn timer.] What store of munition and armour the queenes maiestie hath in hir storehouses, it lieth not in me to yeeld account, fith I suppose the same to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie said after the losse of Calis, that England should neuer recouer ² the store of ² ordinance there left [and lost:] that same is at this time prooued false, fith euen some of the same persons doo now confesse, that this land was neuer better furnished with these things in anie kings daies that reigned since the conquest.

[The names of our greatest ordinance are commonlie these.

Robinet, whose weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

¹ or

²—² their

Falconet weigheth five hundred pounds, and his wideneffe is two inches within the mouth.

Names of the
guns of the
English Artillery.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poifeth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Minion.

Sacre hath fifteene hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Sacre.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thousand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thousand pounds, and five inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Culuerin.

Demie Canon fix thousand pounds, and fix inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon feauen thousand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

Canon.

E. Canon eight thousand pounds, and seauen inches within the mouth.

Bafiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the mouth. By which proportions also it is easie to come by the weight of euerie shot, how manie scores it doth flee at point blanke, how much poulder is to be had to the fame, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

Basilisk.

{ The names of the greatest ordnance. }		{ Weight of the shot. }	{ Scores of caringe. }	{ Pounds of poulder. }	{ Height of bullet. }	{ p. 199 }
Robinet.) hath	1. li.	0	1	1	
Falconet.		2. li.	14	2	1 1/2	
Falcon.		2. 1/2.	16	2 1/2	2 1/2	
Minion.		4. 1/2.	17	4 1/2	3	
Sacre.		5	18	5	3 1/2	
Demie Culuerijn.		9	20	9	4	
Culuerijn.		18	25	18	5 1/2	
Demie canon.		30	38	28	6 1/2	
Canon.		60	20	44	7 1/2	
E. Canon.		42	20	20	6 1/2	
Basiliske.		60	21	60	8 1/2	

I might here take iust occasion to speake of the princes armories. But what shall it need? sith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orbau a Dane, the caster of his ordinance, which could not be

Big Turkish
guns.

drawen to the siege of Constantinople, but by seauentie yokes of oxen, and two thousand men; he had two other there also whose shot poised aboue two talents in weight, made by the same Orban. But to proceed.]

Armories of the
English
Nobility.

As for the armories of some¹ of the nobilitie (whereof I also haue seene a part) they are so well furnished, [that] within some one barons custodie² I haue seene three score [or a hundred] corslets at once, beside caliuers, hand-guns, bowes, sheffes of arrowes, pikes, bills, polaxes,

The mere sight
of one frightend
me.

flaskes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie sight wherof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of some of them³ doo then³ (trow you) if I should [be inforced to] vse [one of] them in the field: [But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are such, as no man hath anie great cause to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leifure to haue them in a readinesse, and therefore both high and lowe in England.

But, thank God,
we've no need
to use arms;
only, to keep
'em ready.

Cymbala pro galeis pro scutis tympana pulsant.]

A Parson can't
write of War.

I would write here [also] of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to doo with glistering armour? what [sound] acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muses? or how should a man write anie thing to the purpose of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? [This neuerthe-

*Malè musis
cum Marte.*

leisse will I adde of things at home, that seldome shall you see anie of my countriemen aboue eighteene or twentie yeeres old, to go without a dagger, at the least, at his backe or by his side, although they be aged burgesse, or magistrates of anie citie, who in appeerance are most exempt from brabling and contention.

All young men
wear daggers.

Our nobilitie weare commonlie swords or rapiers with their daggers, as dooth euerie common seruing man also that followeth his lord and master. Some desperate cutters we haue in like sort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a sheath alwaies about them, where-

Noblemon wear
swords.

Some Cutters
carry 2 daggers
or rapiers.

¹ diuers

² custodie that

³ have done this

with in euerie dronken fraie¹ they are knowen to worke much mischiefe; their swords & daggers also are of a great length, and longer than the like vsed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue beene taken for the intollerable length of these weapons, so I see as yet small redresse: but where the cause thereof doth rest, in sooth for my part I wote not. I might here speake of the excessiue staues which diuerse that trauell by the waie doo carrie vpon their shoulders, whereof some are twelue or thirteene foote long, beside the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie suspected of honest men to be theeues and robbers, or at the leastwise scarce true men which beare them; so by reason of this and the like suspicious weapons, the honest traueller is now inforced to ride with a case of dags at his fadle bow, or with some pretie short snapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defense, before he come within the danger of these weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his sword, or some such weapon, with vs; except the minister, who commonlie weareth none at all, vnlesse it be a dagger or hanger at his side. Sel-dome also are they or anie other waifaring men robbed, without the consent of the chamberleine, tapster, or ostler where they bait & lie, who feeling at their alighting whether their capcases or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their saddles, or otherwise see their store in drawing of their purses, do by and by giue intimation to some one or other attendant dailie in the yard or house, or dwelling hard by, vpon such matches, whether the preie be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is asked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it please him to haue another gheft to

Cutters' long
swords,

which they
won't shorten.

Travellers carry
Long Staues
of 12 or 13 feet,
with a 12-inch
pike at the end:
they're scarce
true men.

Honest folk
travelling
must now carry
Pistols

and swords.
Parsons wear a
dagger or
hanger.

Inn-keepers,
&c., accomplices
with Robbers.

They weigh the
travellers' bags,
&c.,

and warn the
Robbers who's
worth robbing.

The Robber or
his mate offers

¹ Remember Marlowe's death in one—his own dagger turned back into his brain.—F.

himself as a
companion to
the traveller.

If the robber
knows the
traveller's road,
he lies in
wait for him or
overtakes him,
and robs him.

Highway rob-
beries happen
specially about
Christmas.

Some of the
thieves get
trussed up in a
Tyburn tippet.

I pass over the
old English
manner of war-
fare in chariots,
gaily painted.

beare him companie at supper, who rideth the same waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him, or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is seene that the new gheft shall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and keepe him from suspition. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the passenger trauelleth, they will either go before, and lie in wait for him, or else come galloping apace after, wherby they will be sure, if he ride not the stronger, to be fingering with his purse. And these are some of the policies of such shrews, or clofe booted gentlemen, as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and which are most commonlie practised in the winter season about the feast of Christmas, when seruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie spending in such wise whatfoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till some of them sharplie set vpon their cheuifances, be trussed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appeereth that some sort of youth will oft haue his swinge, although it be in a halter.¹

I might also intreat of our old maner of warfare vsed in and before the time of Cesar, when as the cheefe brunt of our fight was in *Effedis* or wagons; but this I also passe ouer, nothing neuerthelesse out of *Propertius*, that our said wagons were gorgeous and gailie painted, which he setteth downe in these foure verses insuing, *Arethuse ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.*

*Te modò viderunt iteratos Bastra per ortus,
Te modò munito Sericus hostis equo,
Hibernique Getæ, piclòque Britannia curru,
Iustus & Eva discolor Indus aqua.]*

¹ See the amusing extract from Wm Bulleyn, in my *Babees Book*, p. 240-3.—F.

Of the nauie of England.

[p. 200]

Chap. 17.¹

[T] Here is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their nauies: wherein, whether I consider their speedie building, or great number of ships which some one kingdome or region possessed at one instant, it giueth me still occasion, either to suspect the historie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ship growing on the stub, and sailing on the sea within the space of fve and fiftie daies! And yet such a nauie was to be seene in the first war of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres also against Hieron, two hundred and twentie tall ships bare leafe & faile within fve and fortie daies. In the second warre of Carthage, the nauie that went with Scipio, was felled in the wood, and seene to faile on the sea fullie furnished in fixe weekes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth seeme to be false and vnpossible. In like maner for multitude, we find in *Polybius*, that at one skirmish on the sea the Romans lost seauen hundred vessels, which bare ech of them fve rowes of ores on a side, and the Carthaginenses fve hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of these vessels were not altogether correspondent to our ships and gallies made in these daies: yet the capacite of most of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; so that if one of their biremes onlie contained so much in burden as a ship of ours of six hundred tun: what shall we thinke of those which had seauen rowes of ores walking on a side? But least I should seeme to speake more of these forren things than the course of the historie doth permit

I wonder at the
navies of ancient
kingdoms.

A ship finished,
and fitted, and
sailing, in 55
days; nay,

220 ships so
done in 45 days;

Scipio's navy in
6 weeks.

In one skirmish
the Romans lost
700 quin-
quiremes, and
the Car-
thaginians 500.

If a breme
equall'd our
ship of 800 tons,
what would a
septrime do?

¹ This chapter forms chap. 13 in Bk 2 of 1577 ed.—F.

Pray let me
dwell a little
longer on the
navies of the
ancients.

Xerxes's navy.

Gallies of from
4 to 15 rows of
oars on
each side :

all above
4 rows, I call
'unwieldy
oars.'

One galley with
40 rows, 4000
oars, 400
seamen and
3000 soldiers.

without licence to digresse: giue me leaue (I beseech thee, gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of these ancient formes & kinds of vessels. For albeit that the discourse hereof maketh little to the description of our present naue in England: yet shall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleasant to such as shall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It shall not be amisse therefore to begin at the naue of Xerxes, of which ech meane vessell (as appeereth by *Herodot*) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie souldiers, and some of them three hundred. These were called triremes, and were indeede gallies that had three rowes of ores on euerie side; for the word *Naui*s is indifferentlie applied so well to the gallie as ship, as to the conuersant in histories is easie to be found. In old time also they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, six, seauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fiftene rowes of ores on a side; iudge you then of what quantitie those vessels were. *Plinie, lib. 7.* noteth one Damasthenes to be the first maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: *Thucidides* referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuised by Aristotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Nefichthon of Salamina; the gallie of six rowes by Xenagoras of Syracusa: from this to the tenth Nefigiton brought vp; Alexander the great caused one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftene; Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphon of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more seruing for pleasure and to gaze vpon, than anie vse in the wars for which they should be deuised. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolom. Philopater builded, containing 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held also foure thousand ores, foure hundred mariuers, and three thousand souldiers, so that in

the said vessell were seauen thousand and foure hundred persons: a report incredible, if truth and good testimonie did not confirme the same. I must needs confesse therefore, that the ancient vessells far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuerthelesse if you regard the forme, and the assurance from perill of the sea, and therewithall the strength and nimbleness of such as are made in our time, you shall easilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greatest vessell is not alwaies the safest, so that of most huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptest to shift and brooke the seas: as might be seene by the great Henrie, the hugest vessell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ships of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building about the water (for of low gallies in our seas we make small account) nor so full of ease within, fith time hath ingendred more skill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpose at the first intended.]

The naue of England may be diuided into three sortes, of which the one serueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fishermen, which get their liuing by fishing on the sea. How manie of the first order are maintained within the realme, it passeth my cunning to expresse: yet fith it may be parted into the naue roiall and common fleete, I thinke good to speake of those that belong vnto the prince, and so much the rather, for that their number is certaine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull [or gallant] sort of ships than the queenes maiestie of England at this present, and those generallie are of such exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed

Though the
ancients' ships
were bigger
than ours,

ours are fitter
for service.

The Great
Henry,¹ the
biggest English
ship of our
times.

The English
navy consists of
1. war ships; 2.
merchant
vessels; 3. fish-
ing boats.

No European
prince has such
fine ships as our
Queen has.

¹ See my *Ballads from MSS.* i. 120, on this, and Henry VIII.'s navy. There's an engraving of this *Great Henry* or *Henry Grace* (burnt, Aug. 27, 1553), in the British Museum.—F.

and furnished as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of those¹ of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.²

The build of our ships is the best for weather.

All strangers say our ships are the best in the world.

Our navy's under an Admiral.

Q. Elizabeth has now, A. D. 1582, 24 or 25 great ships, and 8 gallies, whose names and guns, &c., I'll give.³

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes so conuenientlie made, to brooke³ so well one sea as another lieng vpon the shore³ in anie part of the continent as those of England. And therefore the common report that strangers make of our ships amongst themselues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for strength, assurance, nimblenesse and swiftnesse of sailing, there are no vessels in the world to be compared with ours. [And all these are committed to the regiment and safe custodie of the admerall, who is so called (as some imagine) of the Greeke word *Almiras* a capiteine on the sea, for so faith *Zonaras* in *Basilio Macedone* & *Basilio Porphyriogenito*, though other fetch it from *Ad mare* the Latine words, another sort from *Amyras* the Saracen magistrate, or from some French deriuation: but these things are not for this place, and therefore I passe them ouer.] The queenes highnesse hath at this present [(which is the foure and twentieth of hir reigne)] already made and furnished, to the number of⁴ foure or fve⁴ and twentie great ships, which lie for the most part in Gillingham rode, beside three gallies, of whose particular names [and furnitures (so far forth as I can come by them)] it shall not be amisse to make report at this time.

¹ them

² Surely this statement was justified by the facts. And Nelson, Dundonald, and their successors have shown that English sailors since have not degenerated.—F

³— the seas

⁴— one

⁵ See in *Household Ordinances*, p. 267—270, "An account of all the Queen's Ships of War; (the Musters taken in 1574 and 1575; the warlike stores in the Tower and aboard the Navy in 1578; the *CUSTODES ROTULORUM* of every county in England and Wales, and the names of all the English Fugitives)."—F.

¹ The names of so manie ships belong- [p. 201]
ing to hir maiestie as I could come by at
 this present.

{	The Bonadventure.	{	Forefight.	{	Names of Queen Elizabeth's 24 Men-of-War.
	Elizabeth Ionas.		Swift fute.		
	White Beare.		Aid.		
	Philip and Marie.		Handmaid.		
	Triumph.		Dread nought.		
	Bull.		Swallow.		
	Tiger.		Genet.		
	Antlope.		Barke of Bullen.		
	Hope.		Achates.*		
	Lion.		Falcon.*		
	Victorie.		George.*		
	Marie Rose.		Reuenge.*		

¹—¹ The first of them therefore is called Bonadventure.

The next hight the Elizabeth Ionas, a name devised by hir grace in remembrance of hir owne deliuerance from the fury of hir enemies, from which in one respect she was no lesse myraculously preserued, then was the prophet Ionas from the belly of the Whale.

The White Boare is the thirde.

[* Not in the 1677 list, notes.—F.]

And after them she hath the Philip and Mary.

The Triumph

The Bull.

The Tygre so called of hyr exceddyng nimblenesse in sayling & swiftnesse of course.

The Antlop.

The Hope.

The Lyon.

The Victorie.

The Mary rose.

The Foresight.

The Cadish.†

The Swift sute.

The Ayde.

The Handmaide.

The Dread not.

The Swallow.

The Genet.

The Barke of Bullen.

[The list of 24 ships (with their men and arms), in the 1578 list in *Household Ordinances*, p. 267-270, contains all those in the note here, except the Cadish; and adds to them the Primrose, and the Faulcon, Aibates (for Achates), and George, named above. The 1578 list has not the Reuenge above. It calls the White Boare and 'Dread not', the White Bear and Dreadnought (as above); and the Genet, Jennett. And adds, "The sum of all other, as well merchant shippes as other, in all places in England, of 100 tunns and upwards, 135. The sum of all barkes and shippes of 40 tunne and upwards to an 100 tunne, 656. There are besides, by estimation, 100 saile of hoyes. Also of small barkes and fishermen an infinite number. So as the number of . . . through the realme cannot be lesse than 600, besides London." No doubt Mrs Green's Calendar of State Papers, *temp.* Eliz., gives further details.—F.]

[† Not in the 1587 list above.—F.]

HARRISON.

As ancient kings
built a city a
year,

Q. Elizabeth is
said to build 1
ship a year.

She can have
9000 or 10,000
seamen afloat.

3 choice gallies.

The Queen is
delighted with
her navy.

Number of
English Ships.

[It is said, that as kings and princes haue in the yoong daies of the world, and long since, framed themselves to erect euerie yeare a citie, in some one place or other of their kingdoms, (and no small woonder that Sardanapalus should begin & finish two, to wit, *Anchialus* and *Tharsus* in one daie,) so hir grace dooth yearelie build one ship or other to the better defense of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no assured certeintie, so it shall suffice to haue said so much of these things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they should all be driuen to seruice at one instant (which God forbid) she should haue a power by sea of about nine or ten thousand men, which were a notable companie, beside the supplie of other vessels appertaining to hir subiects to furnish vp hir voiage.]

Beside these, hir grace hath other in hand also, of whom hereafter, as their turnes doo come about, I will not let to leaue some further remembrance. She hath likewise three notable gallies: the *Speed well*, the *Trie right*, and the *Blacke gallie*, with the fight whereof, and rest of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to saie how greatlie¹ hir grace is delighted: and not without great cause [(I saie)], sith by their meanes hir coasts are kept in quiet, and fundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwise would inuade vs. The number of those that serue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whose vse is dailie seene, as occasion serueth, in time of the warres, is to mee vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if² the report of one record³ be anie thing at all to be credited, there are³ 135 ships that exceed 500 tun; topmen vnder 100, and aboue fortie, 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fisherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iust account, sith they are hardlie to come by.³ Of these also there

¹ marueylously

²—³ common estimation

³—³ 17 or eightene hundred of one & other of them, besides fisher boates & small Craiers, which I referre unto the thirde sort.

are some of the queenes maiesties subiects that haue two or three ; some, foure or fix ; and (as I heard of late) one man whose name I suppress for modesties sake, hath bene knowne not long since to haue had fixteene or seuateene, and emploied them wholie to the wafting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no small commoditie and gaine. I might take occasion to tell ¹ of the notable and difficult voiajes made into strange countries by Englishmen, and of their dailie successe there ²: but as these things are nothing incident to my purpose, so I surcease to speake of them. Onelie this will I ad,³ to the end all men shall vnderstand somewhat of the great masses of treasure dailie emploied vpon our nauie, how there are few of those ships, of the first and second sort, that being apparelled and made readie to sale, are not woorth one thousand pounds, or three thousand ducats at the least, if they should presentlie be sold. What shall we ⁴ thinke then of the greater, but especiallie of the nauie roiall, of which some one vessell is woorth two of the other, as the shipwrights haue often told me ? It is possible that some couetous person hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or suppose monie so emploied to be nothing profitable to the queenes coffers : as a good husband said once when he hard there should be prouision made for armor, ' wishing the queenes monie to be rather laid out to some speedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, [because the realme (saith he) is in case good enough, and so peraduenture he thought.] But if ⁵ as by store of armour for the defense of the countrie, he had likewise vnderstanded ⁶ that the good keeping of the sea, is the safegard of our land, he would ⁶ haue altered ⁶ his censure, and soone giuen ⁷ ouer his iudgement. For in times past, when

Private ship-owners have from 2 to 16 ships each, that carry merchandise.

Almost every one of our 1st and 2nd class merchant ships is worth, when fitted, £1000 :

our men-of-war worth £3000.

The good keeping of the sea is the safeguard of our land.

¹ speake

² See Hakluyt's record of the daring and endurance of our Elizabethan seamen. —F.

³ adde therefore

⁴ we shall

⁵ he wist

⁶ alter

⁷ giue

The want of a navy, the cause of our being invaded in old times.

The Normans' care for a

strong navy.

British boats.

[The Britons fasted all the while they were at the sea in these ships.]

The Saxons had but few poor ships.

Egbert first knew the necessity for a navy.

our nation made small account of navigation, how soone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & last of all the Danes, invade this Iland? whose crueltie in the end enforced our countrymen, as it were even against their¹ wils, to provide for ships from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enemies were oftentimes distressed. But most of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a short proceffe of time after the conquest of this Iland, and good consideration had for the well keeping of the same, they supposed nothing more commodious for the defense of the country, than the maintenance of a strong naue, which they speedilie provided, maintained, and thereby reaped in the end their wished securitie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the coming of the Romans, I doo not read that we had any ships at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, [like unto the which there are some to be seene at this present in Scotland (as I heare), although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betweene them. Of the same also *Solinus* speaketh, so far as I remember: neuertheless it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them about the water onelie were framed of the said wickers, and that the Britons did vse to fast all the whiles they went to the sea in them: but whether it were doone for policie or superstition, as yet I doo not read.]

In the beginning of the Saxons [regiment] we had² some ships also²; but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpose, so Egbert was the first prince that euer throughlie began to know this necessitie of a naue, [and vse the seruice thereof] in the defense of his country. After him also other princes, as Alfred, [Edgar,] Ethelred, &c, induoured more and more to store themselves at the full with ships of all quantities,

¹ their owne

²—² a few

but chieflie [Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600
aliàs 3600 saile, which he diuided into foure parts, and
 sent them to abide vpon foure fundrie coasts of the
 land, to keepe the same from pirats. Next vnto him
 (and worthie to be remembred) is] Etheldred, who
 made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands,
 should find a ship furnished to serue him in the warres.
 Howbeit, and as I said before, when all their nauie was
 at the greatest, it was not comparable [for force and
 sure building] to that which afterward the Normans
 prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like
 to the same that is to be seene now in [these] our daies.
 For the iourneies also of our ships, you shall vnderstand,
 that a well builded vessell will run or saile [commonlie]
 three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weeke,
 or peraduenture some will go 2200 leagues in fix weekes
 and an halfe. And fuerlie, if their lading be readie
 against they come thither, there be of them that will
 be here, at the west Indies, & home againe in twelue or
 thirteene weekes from Colchester; although the said
 Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point
 of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. [This also I
 vnderstand ¹ by report of some trauellers, that if anie of
 our vessells happen to make a voiage to *Hispaniola* or
 new Spaine, called in time past *Quinquexia* and *Haiti*,
 and lieth betweene the north tropike and the equator;
 after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which
 are eight daies sailing, or two hundred and fiftie leages,
 from *S. Lucas de Barameda* in Spaine,) they will be
 there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in
 Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie
 matter, beside the safetie and quietnesse in the passage.
 But more of this elfewhere.]

Edgar had
1600 or 3600
ships.

Etheldred made
every man
holding 310
hidelands, pro-
vide a warship.

Our ships 'll
sail 900 miles
a weeke.

Some 'll go
from Colchester
to the West
Indies and
back, in 12 or 13
weeks;

[¹ p. 202]

and to Haiti
and back.

in 16 weeks.

Of faires and markets.

Chap. 18.¹

Weekly markets
in every large
town.

They were
meant for the

relief of the
buyer, but are
turned to the
benefit of the
seller.

Little inspection
of goods is now
carried out.

Here are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, [one or more granted from the prince,] in which all maner of prouision for houghhold is to be bought and sold, for ease and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby, as it commeth to passe that no buier shall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his necessities, so no occupier shall haue occasion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to seeke for the higheft prices, which commonlie are neere vnto great cities, where round and speedieft vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as these haue beene in times past erected for the benefit of the realme, so are they in many places too too much abused: for the reliefe and ease of the buier is not so much intended in them, as the benefit of the seller. Neither are the magistrats for the most part [(as men loth to displease their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie,)] so carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they should bee. For in most of these markets, neither affises² of bread, nor orders for goodnesse [and sweetnesse] of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be sold, are anie whit looked vnto; but ech one suffered to sell or set vp what and how himselfe listeth: & this is one euident cause of dearth³ [and scarfitie] in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, sith⁴ it is rare to see in anie⁵ countrie towne⁶ [(as I said)] the affise of bread well kept according to the statute. [And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the

¹ This is chap. 11, Bk 2, in 1677 ed.—F.

² sizes

³ darth

⁴ Certes

⁵⁻⁶ market

market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his stuffe; whereby the honest poore man, whome the law of nations doo commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon some round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges.] Howbeit ¹ though they are so nice in the proportion of their bread, yet ¹ in lieu ² of the same, there is ² such headie ale & beere in most of them, as for the mightineffe thereof among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called huffcap, the mad dog, father whorefonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg.] &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled conscience, after he had considered well of his reachlesse ³ life, and dangerous estate: another, thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him straightwaie ⁴ to the strongest ale, as to the next physician. It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did *Romulus* and *Remus* sucke their thee wolfe [or shepheards wife] *Lupa*, with such eger and sharpe deuotion, as these men hale at hufcap, till they be red as cockes, & litle wiser than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the alehouse? In returning therefore vnto my purpose, I find ⁵ that in corne great abuse is dailie suffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, especiallie the poore artificer and householder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a bushell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicause bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne, ⁶ doo not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboute the

Yet a good country baker intruding, is found fault with, and driven away.

There's plenty of heady ale and beer, call'd Huffcap,

Dragon's Milk, Stride-wide, &c.

Our maltbugs lug at alepots like pigs at their dame's teats,

till they're as red as cockes.

Bodgers buy up all the corn.

¹ I find

² thereof

³ rekelesse

⁴ straight

⁵ find therefore

⁶ Graine

price, to be serued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well, I will faie yet a little more, and somewhat by mine owne experience.

Corn-dealers' dodges to buy up corn, and then raise prices.

At Michaelmasse time poore men must ¹make monie of ¹their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to sell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretense of feed corne, [or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne,] bicause one wheat often sown without change of feed, will soone decaie, and be conuerted into darnell. For this cause therefore they must needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off, and where they be not knowne, promising there, [if they happen to be espied (which, God wot, is verie feldome)] to send so much to their next market, to ²be performed ²I wot not when.

Sometimes they'll get a man, for a pot of Merry-go-down, to buy for them.

[Suborned bodgers.]

If this shift serue not (neither dooth the fox vse alwaies one tracke for feare of a snare), they will compound with some one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of hufcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or else they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon some forged furmise; which being doone, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts,³ and then if he can doo any good for himselfe, so it is; if not, they will giue him somewhat for his paines at this time, & referue him for an other yeare. How manie of ⁴the like ⁴prouiders stumble vpon blind creekes at the sea coast, I wote not well; but that some haue so doone, [and yet doo,] vnder other mens wings, the case ⁵is too [too] plaine. But who dare find fault

[Bodgers licenced.]

¹—¹ sell

²—² performe

³ What a pity the poor men couldn't *co-operate*, imitate the rich buyer, and have their own bodger to buy for them.—F.

⁴—⁴ these

⁵ cause

with them, when they haue once a licence? [yea] though it be but to serue a meane gentlemans houle with corne, who hath cast vp all his tillage, bicause he boasteth how he can buie his graine in the market, better cheape than he can sow his land, as the rich grafier often dooth also vpon the like deuise, [bicause grafing requireth a smaller household and lesse attendance and charge.] If anie man come to buie a bushell or two for his expenses vnto the market crosse, answer is made; "Forfooth, here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it." And to saie the truth, these bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but "Let me see it, what shall I giue you? knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to such a chamber, [and if you bring in twentie seme more in the weeke daie to such an Inne or sollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it, and giue you [] pence or more in euerie bushell for six weekes day of paiement than an other will." Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, so that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his prouision in the markets, sith they will hardlie now adaies sell by the bushell, nor breake their measure; and so much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they saie) for so much ouer measure in a bushell, as the bodger will doo in a quarter. Naie, the poore man cannot off get anie of the farmer at home, bicause he prouideth altogether to serue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and insatiable desire of gaine, that the sale will be better in the market: so that he must¹ giue two pence or a groate more in a bushell at his houle, than the last market craued, or else go without it, and sleepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the seas, I speake not; or at the leastwise if I should, I could not touch it alone, but needs must ioine other prouision withall, whereby not onelie our freends abroad, but

Some small
landholders,
and rich
graziers, don't
grow their own
corn.

Bodgers buying
up corn.

How the
Bodgers trouble
the poor.

[¹ p. 203]

Export of corn

to enemies and
Papists, I can
hardly believe
in.

also manie of our aduersaries and countriemen, the papists, are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth); but sith I see it not, I will not so trust mine eares as to write it for a truth.] But to ¹returne to our markets againe.¹

Large Dealers'
tricks to raise
the price of
corn.

By this time the poore occupier hath all sold his crop for need of monie, being readie peradventure to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole sale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threshed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, so much as they could come by. Hencefoorth also they begin to sell, not by the quarter or load at the first, [for marring the market,] but by the bushell or two, or an horffeload at the most, therby to be seene to keepe the croffe,² either for a shew, or to make men eger to buie, and so as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne waxeth deere; but it will be deerer the next market daie. It is possible also that they mislike the price in the beginning for [the] whole yeare insuing, as men supposing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the next yeare. [For they haue certeine superstitious obseruations, whereby they will giue a gesse at the sale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doo vse commonlie for barleie, where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes daie; and for wheat, as it is sold in feed time. They take in like sort experiment by sight of the first flockes of cranes that flee southward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Ianuarie, & such other apish toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they shew themselues to be scant good christians: but what care they, so they may come by monie?] Here-

At first they'll
sell only very
small lots.

Bodgers' super-
stitions about
the price of
corn:

as of the first
cranes flying
south in winter.

¹—¹ proceeds

² market. 'For maring of the market' appears here as a marginal reference.
—F.

vpon also ¹ will they thresh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the summer, when new commeth apace to hand, and cast the same in ² the fourth vnthreshed, where it shall lie vntill the next spring, or peradventure till it must and putrifie. [Certes it is not deintie to see mustie corne in manie o our great markets of England, which these great occupiers bring forth when they can keepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occasion somewhat to abate the price, so a plague is not feldome ingendred thereby among the poorer sort, that of necessitie must buie the same, wherby manie thousands of all degrees are consumed, of whose deaths (in mine opinion) these farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will seeme to haue but small store left in their barnes:] for ³ else they will gird their sheues ⁴ by the band, and stacke it vp of new in lesse roome, to the end it may not onlie seeme ⁵ lesse in quantitie, but also giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing [in] the field. If there happen to be such plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot sell at their own price, then will they set it vp in some freends house, against another or the third daie, & not bring it forth till ⁶ they like of the sale. If they sell anie at home, beside harder measure, it shall be deerer to the poore man [that bieth it] by two pence or a groat in a bushell, than they may sell it in the market. But as these things are worthie redresse, so I wish that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to see their owne errors: for as yet some of them little care how manie poore men suffer extremitie, so that they may fill their purses, and carie awaie the gaine.

[It is a world also to see how most places of the realme are pestered with purueiours, who take vp eggs,

Bodgers sometimes keep corn in hand till it musts and rots.

The poor have to buy it, and it gives 'em the plague.

Bodgers 'll bind up their corn tight, to seeme to have little,

and will put off selling till they get their own price.

May God open their eyes to their sins!

We're pesterd too with

¹ then ² into ³ Or ⁴ sheues of ⁵ appears ⁶ untill

Purveyors,
who buy up our
country eggs,
chickens, &c.,
and sell 'em
elsewhere.

Rise of Price in
Butter

from 18*d.* a
gallon to 3*s.* 4*d.*
or 5*s.*

Superfluous
dealers, and

buying at
private houses,
instead of open
markets, are the
chief causes of
high prices.

No general
measure : differ-
ent Bushels
everywhere.

butter, cheefe, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c, in one market, vnder pretense of their commiffions, & suffer their wiues to fell the same in another, or to pulters of London. If these chapmen be absnt but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie see these wares to be more reasonablie fold, and therevnto the croffes sufficientlie furnished of all things. In like sort, since the number of buttermen haue so much increased, and since they trauell in such wise, that they come to mens houses for their butter faster than they can make it; it is almost incredible to see how the price of butter is augmented¹: whereas, when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of these butter buiers were stirring, our butter was scarce woorth eightene pence the gallon, that now is worth three shillings foure pence, & perhaps fve shillings. Wherby also I gather that the maintenance of a superfluous number of dealers² in most trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greatest causes why the prices of things become excessiue: for one of them doo commonlie vse to out bid another. And whilest our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and sold at our priuate houses, I neuer looke to see this enormitie redressed, or the markets well furnished.]

I could saie more, but this is euen enough, & more peradventure than I shall be well thanked for: yet true it is, though some thinke it no trespassse. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall meafure is not in vse throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in³ maner a feuerall bushell⁴; and the

¹ Victorian writers can say this too. I recollect fresh butter at 8*d.* and 10*d.* a pound here at Egham, and now we pay 20*d.* The imported Italian butter that we get in London, from Ralli, Greek St, Soho, is 19*d.*—F.

² An interesting anticipation of John Stuart Mill's point of the evil of a large middleman class checkt only by competition. Co-operation, with a few middlemen, the agents and servants of the co-operators, is what we want.—F.

³ in a

⁴ measure

lesser it be, the more sellers it draweth to resort vnto the same. [Such also is the couetousnesse of manie clerkes of the market, that in taking view of measures, they will alwaies so provide, that one and the same bushell shall be either too big or too little at their next coming, and yet not depart without a fee at the first: so that, what by their mending at one time, and emending the same at another, the countrey is greatly charged, and few iust measures to be had in any speed.]

Cheating by
Clerks of the
Market.

It is oft found likewise, that diuerse vnconscionable dealers haue one measure to sell by, & another to buy withall; the like is also in weights, [and yet all sealed and branded.] Wherefore it were verie good that these two were reduced vnto one standard, that is, one bushell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: so should things in time fall into better order, and fewer causes of contention be moued in this land.

Dealers haue 1
measure to sell
by, and another
to buy by.

We ought to
haue 1 Standard
for measures
and weights.

[Of the complaint of such poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I speake not, who are often dealt withall very hardlie. For beside that in the measuring of ten quarters, for the most part they lose one through the iniquitie of the bushell (such is the greedinesse of the appointed receiuers thereof), fault is found also with the goodnesse and cleannesse of the graine. Whereby some peece of monie must needs passe vnto their purses to stop their mouths withall, or else my lord will not like of the corne: "Thou art worthie to loose thy lease, &c." Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then must they paie monie, and no corne, which is no small extremitie. And thereby we may see how each one of vs induoureth to fleece and eat vp another.

Tenants who
pay rent in
corn

are cheated by
the Receiuers

whom they're
oblig'd to fee.

Each one tries
to eat up the
other.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be looked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the same into lofts and follars, of which before I gaue some intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euery

Sellers oughtn't
to be allow'd to
carry off their
grain unsold.

[1 p. 204]

Corn-sellers
ought to sell in
the nearest
market, and not
be allowed to go
20 miles off to
get a higher
price.

The contents of
Barns should
be noted, and

more corn
brought to the
Town-Crosses.

Now, corn is
exported,

to our common-
wealth's great
hurt.

seller should make his market by an houre, or else the bailie or clearke of the said market ¹to make sale thereof according to his discretion, without libertie to the farmer to fet vp their corne in houses and chambers, I am perswaded that the prices of our graine would soone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one should keepe his next market with his graine, and not to run fix, eight, ten, foureteene, or twentie miles from home, to sell his corne where he dooth find the higheft price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vn-furnished, I doo not thinke but that our markets would be farre better serued than at this present they are. Finallie, if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after haruest, and a note gathered by an estimat, and kept by some appointed & trustie person for that purpose, we should haue much more plentie of corne in our towne crosses than as yet is commonlie seene: bicause each one hideth and hoordeth what he may, vpon purpose either that it will be deerer, or that he shall haue some priuie veine by bodgers, who doo accustomable so deale, that the sea dooth load awaie no small part thereof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except some remedie be found.] ² But what doo I talke of these things, or desire the suppression of bodgers, being a minister? Certes I may speake of them right well, as feeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuerthelesse I speake generallie in ech of them.³

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be sold, necessarie for mans vse; and there is our prouision made commonlie for all the weeke insuing. Therefore, as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the least, so there are verie few of

¹⁻³ But more of this hereafter in the next booke, where I haue inserted a little treatise, which I sometimes collected of our weights & measures, and their comparison with those of the auncient Greekes and Romaines.

them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compasse of the yeare, assigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that some of them are not much better than [Lowse faire, or] the common kirkemeffes beyond the sea, yet there are diuerse not inferiour to the greatest marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire neere to Cambridge, [Bristow faire,] Bartholomew faire at London, Lin¹ mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerse other, all which, or at leastwise the greatest part of them, (to the end I may with the more ease to the reader and lesse trauell to my selfe fulfill my take in their recitall), I haue set downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you shall find them at large, as I borrowed the same from [I.] Stow, [and the reports of others.]

Most towns have
1 or 2 fairs a
year,

some great ones,
as Stourbridge
Fair, Bartholo-
mew Fair, &c.

The names and
dates of these
I've set down at
the end of this
book.

Of Parkes and Warrens.

Chap. 19.²

IN euerie shire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof some here and there, [to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred, for hir daily prouision of that flesh,] apperteine to the prince, the rest to such of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies³ lieng [in or] neere vnto the same. I would gladlie haue set downe the iust number of these inclosures to be found in euerie countie: but sith I cannot so doo, it shall suffice to saie, that in Kent and Essex onelie are to the number of an hundred, [and twentie in the bishoprike of Durham,] wherein great plentie of fallow deere is cherished and

The Queen has
nearly 200
parks.

There are 100 in
Kent and Essex,
with fallow
deer.

¹ Linne

² This, in 1577 ed., is Chap. 15 of Bk 2; and its title is markt with the paragraph sign ¶.—F.

³ patrimony

Coney-warrens.
Skins of black
conies are worth
more than their
bodies.

Near London,
young rabbits
and sucklings
sell best.

Parks are en-
closed now with
oak palings,

to keep the
deer in.

The old fencing
was with
stone walls.

(Bolton has one
of the finest
clocks in
Europe.)
Slate-fencing.

kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almost innumerable, and dailie like to increafe, by reason that the blacke skins¹ of those beafts are thought to counteruaile the prices of their naked carcafes, and this is the onelie cause whie the graie are lesse esteemed. Neere vnto London, their quickeft merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies² are brought from further off, where there is no such speedie vtterance of rabbets and sucklings³ in their season, nor so great losse by their skins, sith they are suffered to growe vp to their full greatnesse with their owners.

Our parkes are generallie inclosed with strong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great store cherished [in the woodland countries] from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the said defense, and safe-keeping of the [fallow] deere from ranging about the countrie. [Howbeit, in times past diuerse haue been fenced in with stone walles (especiallie in the times of the Romans, who first brought fallow deere into this land (as some coniecture) albeit those inclosures were ouerthrowne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Cauisham, Towner, and Woodstocke, beside other in the west countrie, and one also at Bolton.

Among other things also to be seene in that towne, there is one of the fairest clockes in Europe. Where no wood is, they are also inclosed with piles of slate; and therto it is douted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beafts or not. *Plinie* deemeth them to be wild; *Martial* is also of the same opinion, where he saith, *Imbelles damæ quid nisi præda sumus?* And so in time past the like controuerfie was about bees, which the lawiers call *Feras*, *tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. instit.* But

¹ See Percy Folio, Loose and Humorous Songs, p. 86, l. 31-4.—F.

² We've unluckily lost the distinction between *rabbit* and *coney*.—F.

³ Called 'suckers' in *Babees Book*, and Henry VIII.'s Household Ordinances.—

Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias inter feras & placidas aues*. But whither am I so suddenie digressed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find also] the circuit of these inclosures in like manner containe often times a walke of foure or fve miles, and sometimes more or lesse. Wherby it is to be seene what store of ground is employed vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, fith they commonlie giue awaie their flesh, neuer taking penie for the same, [except the ordinarie fee, and parts of the deere, giuen vnto the keeper by a custome, who beside three shillings foure pence, or fve shillings in monie, hath the skin, head, vmbles, chine, and shoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is scarfelic equall dealing;] for¹ venison in England is neither bought nor sold,² [as in other countries,] but maintained onelie for³ the pleasure of the owner and his friends.³ [Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by felling yeerelic hir husbands venison⁴ to the cookes, (as another of no lesse name will not sticke to ride to the market to see hir butter sold,) but not performed without infinite scoffes and mockes, euen of the poorest pezzants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of such countenance, to sell their venison and their butter, as for an earle to feele his oxen, sheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to sell his wooll vnto the clothier, or to keepe a tan-houfe, or deale with such like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or grafiers; for which such, if there be anie, may well be noted (and not vniustlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themselves

Parks are 4 or 5 miles round.

Keeper's perquisites on a deer being killd.

Venison is not bought or sold.

Yet one Lady has actually sold her husband's Venison to the Cooks! and another has ridden to market to see her Butter sold!

An Earl must not turn ox-dealer.

¹ because

² sold by the right owner

³ his pleasure to the no small decay of husbandry & diminution of mankind.

⁴ See Andrew Boorde's amusing bit about venison in his *Dystary*: my ed., p. 275.—F.

to husbandrie.¹ And euen the same enormitie tooke place sometime among the Romans, and entred so farre as into the verie senate, of whome some one had two or three ships going vpon the sea, pretending prouision for their houses; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and restraine them. *Liue* also telleth of an² other law which passed likewise against the senators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no senator, or he that had beene father to anie senator, should possesse anie ship or vessell aboue the capacitie of three hundred amphoras, which was supposed sufficient for the cariage and recariage of such necessities as should apperteine vnto his house: sith further trading with merchandizes and commodities dooth declare but a base and couetous mind, not altogether void of enuie, that anie man should liue but he: or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himselfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and must needs proue in time the confusion of that countrie wherein such enormities are exercised.] Where³ in times past, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compasse of some one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell seene, and to be had among them, beside a more copious procreation of humane issue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furnished with able men to serue the prince in his affaires; now there is almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and sauage beasts, cherished for pleasure and delight; and yet some⁴ owners, still desirous to enlarge those grounds, [as either for the breed and feeding of cattell,] doo not let dailie to take in more, [not sparing the verie commons whervpon manie towneships now and then doo liue,] affirming that we haue alreadie too great store of people in England; and that youth by

[* p. 206]

The Romans
pass a lawagainst allowing
Senators to
trade, and so
become base
and covetous.[Tillage and
mankind dimin-
ished by parkes.]Owners of parks
even take in
commons, and
say that we've
too many people
in England.¹ Harrison was not quite up to the Dignity of Labour.—F.² For where⁴ the

marrieng too soone doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, [to the hurt and vtter vndooing (they saie) of the common wealth.]

Certes, if it be not one curse of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in such sort, from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and shrowds of wild beafts, I know not what is anie. How manie families also these great and small games (for so most keepers call them) haue eaten vp, and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, some men may coniecture, but manie more lament, sith there is no hope of restraint to be looked for in this behalfe, [because the corruption is so generall.] But if a man may presentlie giue a ghesse at the vniuersalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumstance,² he shall saie at the last, that the twentieth part of the realme is imploied vpon deere and conies alreadie, which seemeth verie much, if it be³ dulle considered of.

The decaye of the people is the destruction of a kingdome, neither is any man borne to possesse the earth alone.¹

A twentieth of the realm is taken up by deer and conies.

[King Henrie the eight, one of the noblest princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was constrained to hire forren aid, for want of competent store of souldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed,) that such supplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto those that interteine them, as may cheeflie be seene in Valens the emperor, our Vortiger, and no small number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when seauen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thousand men to the field against another, or two of them 100000 against the third, and those taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, so he saw not the cause of this decaye, which grew beside this occasion now mentioned; also by laieng house to house, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminished. The auarice of

Henry VIII. often lamented the want of Englishmen for soldiers,

and wondered how in early days there were so many.

The causes of our loss of men are, Parks, and turning many small holdings into one large one.

¹—¹ Left out in ed. 1587.—F. ² circumstances ³ be not, ed. 1587.—F.

landlords, by increasfing of rents and fines, alfo did fo wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would arife, fupposing a fhort end in the warres, to be better than a long and miferable life in peace.

Evils of Privileges and Faculties.

Priiileges and faculties alfo are another great caufe of the ruine of a common wealth and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature dooth permit all men to liue in their beft maner, and whatfoeuer trade they be exercifed in, there commeth fome priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they muft needs fhift foile, and feeke vnto other countries. By thefe alfo the greateft commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbafe, corrupt, and yet raife the prices of things at their owne pleasures. Example of this laft I can

Bad second editions of books. [The fact is well known. See instances in W. de Worde's Kervynge, 2 ed., in *Babees Book*.]

giue alfo in bookes, which (after the firft impreffion of anie one booke) are for the moft part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it fo well as the firft, then would men ftriue which of them fhould doo it beft; and fo it falleth out in all other trades. It

Never fo few people in England as now.

is an eafie matter to prooue that England was neuer leffe furnifhed with people than at this prefent; for if the old records of euerie manour be fought, and fearch made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited together by other men: it will foone appeere, that in fome one manour, feuenteen, eighteene, or twentie houfes are fhrunke. I know what I faie, by mine owne experience: notwithstanding that fome one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpofe. Of cities and townes, either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminifhed, though fome one be a little increafed here and there; of townes pulled downe for fheepe-walks¹, and no more but the lordfhips now

Of the destruction of tenements I can fpeak from my own experience.

¹ See the curious tract on this in Mr J. M. Cowper's *Four Supplications*, E. E. Text Soc., Extra Series.—F.

standing in them, beside those that William Rufus pulled downe in his time ; I could saie somewhat : but then I should swarue yet farther from my purpose, wherevnto I now returne.]

Wee had no parkes [left] in England at¹ the coming of the Normans, who added this calamitie also to the seruitude of our nation, making men of the best fort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whilest they liued in the meane time vpon the spoile of their reuenues, and dailie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit sort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke supposed in these times to be statelie enough, that contained not at the least eight or ten hidelands, that is, so manie hundred acres or families (or, as they haue beene alwaies called in some places of the realme, carrucats or cartwares) of which one was sufficient in old time to mainteine an honest yeoman.

Parks due to the Normans.

Carrucates or Cartwares.

[King John traueilling on a time northwards, to wit, 1209, to warre vpon the king of Scots, because he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his consent : in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which some belonged to his barons, but the greatest part to the abbats and prelates of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how these inclosures were the cheefe decaille of men, and of tillage in the land, he sware with an oth that he would not suffer wild beasts to feed vpon the fat of his soile, and see the people perish for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that should defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was so ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end ; affirming most slanderouslie how he did it rather of purpose to spoile the corne and grasse of the commons and catholikes that held against him of both

King John

ouerthrew many parks and warrens,

swearing that he'd not let wild beasts eat his people's food.

¹ before

estates, and by so doing to impouerish and bring the north part of the realme to destruction, because they refused to go with him into Scotland. If the said prince were alieue in these daies,—wherein *Andrew Boord* saith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne person),—and saw how much ground they consume, ¹I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the most of them open, that tillage might be better looked vnto. But this I hope shall not need in time, for the owners of a great fort of them begin now to smell out, that such parcels might be employed to their more gaine, and therefore some of them doo grow to be disparked.

Andrew Boorde
(my ed. p. 274)
says there are
more parks
('pleasure for
harte and
hynde') in
England than
in all Europe.
[¹ p. 206]

Still, some
owners of Parks
now find it pays
to dispark
them.

Franke Chase.

Next of all, we haue the franke chafe, which taketh something both of parke and forrest, and is giuen either by the kings grant or prescription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the selfe same thing that a parke is, sauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or such like: the chafe alwaie open and nothing at all inclosed, as we see in Enueeld & Maluerne chafes. And as it is the cause of the seisure of the franchise of a parke not to keepe the same inclosed, so it is the like in a chafe, if at anie time it be imparked. It is trespasse, and against the law also, for anie man to haue or make a chafe, parke, or free warren, without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of prescription: for it is not lawfull for anie subiect either to carnilate, that is, build stone houses, imbattell, haue the querke of the sea, or keepe the assise of bread, ale, or wine, or set vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or inclose anie ground to the aforesaid purposes within his owne foile, without his warrant and grant. The beasts of the chafe were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But those of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the bore and the wolfe; but as this held not in the time of

A Park is en-
closed: a Chase
open, like En-
field and
Malvern Chases.
[² No Park at
Charlecote in
Shakspeare's
time.]

Parks, &c. can
only be made by
the King's
Charter.

Beasts of the
Chase.

Beasts of
Venerie.

Canutus, so in steed of the wolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beaſt commonlie hunted in the eaſt countries, and fed vpon as excellent veniſon, although with vs I know not anie that feed thereon or care for it at all. Certes] it ſhould ſeeme, that forreſts [and franke chafes] haue alwaies beene had, and religiouſlie preferued in this Iland, for the ſolace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were incloſed more than at this preſent, or otherwiſe fenced than by vſuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preferuation of ſuch venerie and vert of all forts as were nourished in the ſame. Neither are anie of the ancient laws preſcribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; ſith time hath ſo dealt with them that they are periſhed and loſt. Canutus therefore, ſeeing the dailie ſpoile that was made [almoſt] in all places of his game, did at the laſt make ſundrie ſanctions and decrees, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow deere were better looked to¹ throughout his whole dominions. We haue in theſe daies diuerſe forreſts in England and Wales, [of which, ſome belong to the king, and ſome to his ſubiects,] as Waltham forreſt, Windleſor, Pickering, Fecknam, Delamore, [Gillingham, Kingſwood, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leirceſter, Lee, Rokingham, Selwood, New forreſt, Wichwood, Hatfeeld, Sauernake, Weſtbirie, Blacamore Peke,] Deane, Penriſe, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which, although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time leſſe deuourers of the people than theſe latter, ſith, beſide, much tillage [&] manie townes are found in each of them, wheras in parks and warrens we haue nothing elſe than either the keepers [& warreners] lodge, or at leaſt² the manor place of the cheef

(In the Eaſt, the Bear is hunted and eaten, as good Veniſon.)

Canute made laws for preſerving his deer.

The Forreſts in England and Wales.

Forreſts devour leſſe people than parks and warrens.

¹ unto

² the leſt wiſe

All Essex was
once forest, save
one hundred.

'Walden'
(Essex)

is deriv'd from
'Wald,' wood,
and 'end';

or from 'Wald,'
and 'dene,' a
vale.

In 'Chipping
Walden,' 'Chip-
ping' is A.S.

[*Gipping, of
going up to anie
place.*]

The Weald of
Kent.
Difference
between 'Wald,'
wood, and
'Wold,' open
country.

lord & owner of the soile. [I find also by good record, that all Essex hath in time past wholie beene forrest ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is since it lost the said denomination, in good sooth I doo not read. This neuerthelesse remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Essex standing in the limits of the aforesaid countie, doth take hir name thereof. For in the Celtike toong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian speech dooth not a little participate, huge woods and forrests were called *Walds*; and likewise their Druides were named *Walie* or *Waldie*, bicause they frequented the woods, and there made sacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my coniecture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforesaid towne taketh denomination of¹ *Wald* and *end*, as it I should say, 'The end of the wooddie soile'; for, being once out of that parish, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is so called of *Wald* and *dene*: for I haue read it written in old euidences *Waldæne*, with a diphthong. And to saie truth, *Dene* is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as *Dune* or *Don* is for an hill or hillie soile. Certes if it be so, then Walden taketh hir name of the woodie vale, in which it sometime stood. But the first deriuation liketh me better; and the highest part of the towne is called also Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word *gipping*, which signifieth 'Leaning or hanging,' and may verie well be applied therevnto, fith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the fides of two hils, wherof the lesser runneth quite through the middest of the same. I might here, for further confirmation of these things, bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may suffice for the vse of the word *Wald*, which now differeth much from *Wold*. For as that signifieth a woodie soile, so this betokeneth a soile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie store of trees, as may be seene in

¹ orig. of of

Cotfwold, Porkewold, &c. Beside this] I could faie more of our forrests, and the aforefaid inclosures [also, & therein to prooue by the booke of forrest law, that the whole countie of Lancafter hath likewise beene forrest heretofore. Also how William the Bastard made a law, that whosoever did take anie wild beaft within the kings forrest should lose an eare; as Henrie the first did punish them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the second and his peeres at Woodstocke, wherevpon great trouble insued vnder king John and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles:] but it shall suffice¹ to haue said so much as is set downe alreadie.

I'll say no more
of Forests,
Inclosures,

or Wm. the
Bastard's

and Henry I.'s
forest laws.

Howbeit, that I may restore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of obliuion, I will giue out those² laws that Canutus made for his forrest: whereby manie things shall be disclosed concerning the same (wherof peradventure some lawiers haue no knowlege,) and diuerse other notes gathered touching the ancient estate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reason of corruption, [and want also of congruitie,] crept in by length of time, not by me to be restored), I will note another breefe law, which he made in the first yeare of his reigne at Winchester,³ afterward inserted into these his later constitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong: *Ic⁴ will that elc one, &c*: 'I will and grant that ech one shall be worthie of such venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods,⁵ within his owne fee or dominion⁶; but ech man shall abstaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beafts shall haue firme peace and quietnesse, vpon paine to forfeit so much as a man may forfeit.'

Canute's Forest-
Laws.

Canute's 1st
Forest-Law.

¹ suffice at this time

² the same

³ Winchester, and

⁴ I

⁵ woods, or

⁶ dominion (out of the forest)

[¹ p. 207]

Hitherto the statute made by the aforefaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward surnamed the Confessor; [& ratified by the Bastard] in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it selfe in [such rude order and] Latine ¹ as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into English, if it might haue sounded to anie benefit of the vnkilfull and vnlearned.

Canute's
Forest-Laws.

Incipiunt constitutiones Canuti regis de
foresta.²

Hæc sunt sanctiones de foresta, quas ego Canutus rex cum consilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, ut cunctis regni nostri Angliæ ecclesijs & pax & iustitia fiat, & ut omnis delinquens secundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

Pegened.

1. Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent saluas suas debitas consuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei provincia constituti, ad iustitiam distribuendam, una cum poena merita & materijs forrestæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios forrestæ appellandos censemus.

² The following translation is from John Manwood's 'Breve Collection of the Lawes of the Forest' (date, according to the Museum Catalogue, 1592), printed for private circulation; the translation was left out in the author's full Treatise on Forest Laws, published in 1615, after his death, which embodied his two earlier works.—F.

"These are the Lawes of the Forest, which I King Canutus with the Counsell of my cheefe men do make and establish, to that end that Peace & Justice might be ministred to all congregations of our Realme of England: and that euery man that doth offend, may be punished according to the manner of the offence, and of him that doth offend.

1. Nowe from hencefoorth, let there be foure men of the best account, which haue their free customes & duties serued (which Englishmen do call 'Pegened,' appointed throughout the Prouince of my realme to administer Justice to al my people throughout all my Realme of England, as well to Englishmen as to Danes, together

2. *Sint sub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Lespegend nuncupant, Dani verò yoonng men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris suscipiant.*

Canute's
Forest-Laws.

Lespegend.
[Nunc fortè
Fringald.]

3. *In administranda autem iustitia nullatenus volo ut tales se intromittant: mediocrésque tales post ferarum curam susceptam, pro liberalibus semper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant.*

Ealdermen.

4. *Sub horum iterum quolibet sint duo minutorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum servilia opera subitunt.*

Tineman.

5. *Si talis minutus servus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foresta nostra locabitur, liber esto, omnésque hos ex sumptibus nostris manutenebimus.*

6. *Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de nostra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum sella, alterum sine sella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cuspidem, vnum scutum, & ducentos solidos argenti.*

Michni

7. *Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum scutum, & 60 solidos argenti.*

with condigne punishment for the offences of the Forest: which foure men of the Forest, we haue determined to call them *Primarios*, that is to saie, the cheife men.

2. Let there be vnder euerie one of those foure cheife men of the Forest, foure meane men placed, which Englishmen call 'Lespegend,' but Danes do call them 'yong men'; which shall take vpon them the charge and burthen, both of Vert and Venison.

3. But in the execution of Justice, I will that in no wise such foure cheife men, doe let in or suffer such meane men to ioine with them therein. For after that they haue taken vpon them the charge of the wilde beastes, they shal alwaies be accounted for freemen, which the Danes doe call 'Eldermen.'

4. Againe, vnder euery one of these meane men, let there bee two of the least men of account of the Forest, (which Englishmen do call 'Tyne-men':) these persons shall vndertake the seruile labour, and also the night charge of Vert and Venison.

5. If such a seruile officer shall fortune to be a bondman: so soone as he shall be placed in our Forest, let him be made Free of his bondage: & all these persons we will maintaine of our owne costes.

6. And also, euery one of the saide foure cheefe men, shall haue for euery yeere of our allowance, (which the Danes doe call 'Michni,') two Horses, one of them with a Saddell, an other of them without a Saddell: One Sworde, 5 Jauelins, one speare, one shilde, and x. li. in money.

7. And euery one of our said meane men, shall haue for euery yeare, one Horse, one Jaueline, one shilde, and iii li. in Money.

Canuto's
Forest-Laws.

8. *Minutorum quilibet, unum lanceam, unam arcubalistam, & 15 solidos argenti.*

Hundred law.

9. *Sint omnes tam primarij, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus summonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warscot Angli dicunt, & forincefis querelis.*

[Warscot.]

10. *Sint mediocrium & minutorum causæ, & earum correptiones, tam criminalium quam ciuiliū per prouidam sapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & decisæ: primariorum verò enormia si quæ fuerint (ne scelus aliquod remaneat inultum) nosmet in ira nostra regali puniemus.*

Muchehunt.

11. *Habeant hi quatuor unam regalem potestatem (salua [semper] nobis nostra præsentia) quatuor in anno generales forestæ demonstrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, ubi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente forestam, eantque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat secum quinque, & sit ipse sextus, & sic iurando acquirat*

Ofgangfordell.
Purgatio ignis,
triplex ordalia.

8. And euery one of the saide seruile persons, shall haue for euery yeere, one Jaeline, one Crosbowe, and xv shillings of money.

9. Let, as well all the saide foure cheefe men, as also the saide meane men, and the foresaide seruile officers, be exempted and discharged from paying of any tribute, & also freed and aquited from al prouincial sommons, and popular plees, which Englishmen do cal *Hundred laghe*: and also from all charges of Armoure, which Englishmen do call 'Warscot,' and also from foreine sutes.

10. The causes & offences of these meane men & seruile persons: & the correction of them, as wel such causes & offences as are Criminall, as those that are Ciuil, shal be adjudged & decided by the prouident wisdom and discretion of those foure cheefe men: but the offences of those foure cheefe men, if any shal fortune to be, lest that any haynous offence should remaine vnreunged, Wee our owne selves shal punish the same in our Royall displeasure.

11. These foure cheefe men, shall haue one Roial authoritie (sauing vnto vs our owne Roial presence :) And foure times in the yeere they shall keepe theire generall Sessions or Plees of the Forest, & all forfeitures, as well of Vert, as of Venison: (which Englishmen do call 'Much-hunt,') where they shall hold Plee of any matter concerning the Forest. And they shall proceede to a three folde Judgement, which Englishmen do call 'of Gangfardell': and this threefolde Judgement is thus to be had. Hee that is accused, must take with himselfe fve other persons, and himselfe must be the sixt person: and so in swearing he shal haue a threefold Judgement, or three-

triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, nisi ubi nuda veritas nequit aliter inuestigari.

Canute's
Forest-Laws.

12. *Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo crimen suum non fit inter maiora,¹ habeat fidelem hominem qui possit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: si autem non habet, ipsemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.*

Pegen.

Forathe.

13. *Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit fit calumniatus de foresta, & talis est sua inopia ut non possit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare potest: tunc subeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quousque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen si quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * * sibi ipsi nocet, si aliquod iudicium iudicaerint.*

14. *Quicunque coram primarios homines meos forestæ in falso testimonio steterit & victus fuerit, non fit dignus imposterum stare aut portare testimonium, quia legalitatem suam perdidit, & pro culpa soluat regi decem solidos quos Dani vocant Halfeshang, aliàs Halfeshang.*

Halfeshang.

solde oath. But for any person to haue his triall or purgation by Fier, is in nowise to be allowed or admitted, except it be where the manifest trueth cannot otherwise be found out.

12. But a freeman, (which Englishmen call 'Pegen') hauing his offence depending: although he bee not within the compasse of the Seas, yet hee may haue a trustie or faithfull friend that may sweare his oath for him: (which Englishmen call 'Foreath'), but if he haue not such a trustie man to sweare for him, he him selfe shall sweare the oath, neither shall he be pardoned for any oath.

13. If a straunger or pilgrime, which hath come from a far Contrey, be accused of the offence of the Forest: and his pouerty is such that he cannot haue a Pledge, such as he ought to haue: at the first accusation no Englishman may adiudge him therof: then he must indure the Kinges imprisonment, and there remaine vntill he may proceed forward to iudgement of the Iron, and Water. And yet notwithstanding, if any person do hurt vnto him that is such a straunger or pilgrime, comming from a far Countrey: if those foure cheefe men shal determine any iudgement against the same stranger, the same Judgement shall be vnto him that did hurte the same straunger.

14. Whosoeuer shall beare false witnes before my said foure cheefe men of the Forest, & shal be conuicted thereof, afterwarde he is not worthy any more to be allowed a witnes, or to beare any witnes, for because he hath lost his ability therin, & for that offence he shal paie vnto the King ten shillings: which the Danes do call *Halfeshang*, alias *Halfeshang*.

¹ maiora

Canute's
Forest-Laws.

15. *Si quis vim aliquam primarijs forestæ meæ intulerit, si liberalis sit amittat libertatem & omnia sua, si villanus abscindatur dextra.*

16. *Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus sit mortis.*

Pere & Pite.

17. *Si quis¹ autem contra¹ primarium pugnaverit, in plito emendet secundum pretium sui ipsius, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & soluat primario quadraginta solidos.*

Gethbrech.

18. *Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres forestæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem solidis.*

19. *Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percusserit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari solet.*

20. *Si quis delinquens in foresta nostra capietur, pœnas luet secundum modum & genus delicti.*

Ealderman.

21. *Pœna & forisfactio non una eadēque erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & serui: noti & ignoti: nec una eadēque erit causarum tum civilium tum criminalium, ferarum forestæ,*

15. If any man shall offer any force to my said cheefe men of my Forest, if he be a freeman that shal so offend, he shall lose his libertie or freedome, and all that he hath: but if he be a bondman, then his right hand shalbe cutt.

16. But if either of them shall offend againe, then he shal be adiudged gilty of death for the same.

17. But if any man shall contend in sute with any one of our cheefe men aforesaide against him, then he shall make recompence for the same to the King, according to the worth of him selfe, which Englishmen do call 'Pere et Pite': and also shall paie vnto our cheefe man for the same, fourty shillings.

18. If any man shall breake the peace of the King, in the presence of our meane men of the Forest aforesaide (which Englishmen do call 'Geth-brech') he shall yeeld recompence to the King for the same, ten shillings.

19. If any of our meane men aforesaid with his wrath shall strike any man, let him make such recompence to the King for the same, as was accustomed to be made to me for the killing of a roial wilde beast.

20. If any man be taken offending in our Forest, it is conuenient for him to be punished, according to the maner and kind of his offence.

21. The punishment of a freeman (whom the Danes do call 'Eldermen,') shal not be one and the selfe same punishment of a man that is seruite, or not free: Of a seruant and a maister: Of a man that is knowen, and of him that is not knowen: Nor the punishment of Criminall causes, & of Ciuil causes shalbe one, and the self same: Nor of wilde beasts of the Forest, & royall wild beasts: nor the destroying

¹ contra autem cum

Et ferarum regalium : viridis Et veneris tractatio : nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora Et non immerito numerabatur : viridis vero (fractione chaceæ nostræ regalis excepta) ita pusillum Et exiguum est, quod vix ea respicit nostra constitutio : qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, fit criminis forestæ reus.

Canute's
Forest-Laws.

22. *Si liber aliquis feram forestæ¹ ad cursum impulerit,¹ siue casu, siue præhabita voluntate, ita ut cursu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem solidis regi emendet, si illiberalis dupliciter emendet, si servus careat corio.*

23. *Si vero harum² aliquot interfecerit, soluat dupliciter Et persoluat, fitque pretij sui reus contra regem.*

24. *Sed si regalem feram, quam Angli³ Staggon appellunt, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per unum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali : si vero servus, pro vitlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frendlesman vocant.*

Staggon [or
Stagge.]

Frendlesman.

25. *Si vero occiderit, amittat liber scutum libertatis, si illiberalis careat libertate, si servus vita.*

of Vert & of Venison. For the offence of Venison or hunting, not unworthely have bene accounted amongst the greatest offences of the Forest euen of auncient time. But the offence of Vert (except it be for the breach of our Roiall free chace) it is so little, and of so smal an account, that this our Constitution or Law, doth scantly respect the same. Yet notwithstanding, he that shall offend in this offence, let him be accounted guilty of an offence of the Forest.

22. If any freeman shall chase away a Dere, or a wilde beast out of the Forest : whether the same were done by chaunce, or of a set purpose, so that thereby the wilde beast is forced by swift running to lyl out the tong, or to breath with his tong out of his mouth : he shall paie to the King ten shillings for amends for the same offence : but if he be a servile person, then he shall double the same recompence : but if he be a bondman, then he shall lose his Skinne.

23. But if any of these men shall kill a wilde beast of the Forest, let him paie double recompence for the same : And also let him paie besides, euen to the vttermost valew that he is worth : and he shal be accounted as an offender against the King.

24. But if either of them shall chase a Roiall wilde beaste of the Forest (which Englishmen doe call a 'Stagon') and thereby shall force him to hang out the tounge with swifte running, then the one of them which is a freeman, shall lose his naturall libertie for one whole yeere : and the other of them that is not a freeman, shall lose his naturall libertie for two whole yeeres. But if he be a bondman, then afterwards hee shall bee taken for an out-law, (which Englishmen do call 'Frendlesman.')

25. But if a freeman shall slea a wilde beaste, he shall lose the defence of his

¹—¹ fugerit

² horum

³ Angli &

Canute's
Forest-Laws.

26. *Episcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, si non regales feras occiderint: & si regales, restabunt rei regi pro libito suo, sine certa emendatione.*

[1 p. 208]

*Bubali olim in
Anglia.*

27. *Sunt aliæ (præter feras forestæ) bestiæ, quæ dum inter septa & sepes forestæ continentur, emendationi subiacent: quales sunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quædam plurima animalia, quæ quanquam infra septa forestæ viuunt, & oneri & curæ mediocrium subiacent forestæ, tamen nequaquam censerî possunt, qualia sunt² bubali, vaccæ, & similia. Vulpes & lupi, nec forestæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi subiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio fit regalis chaceæ, & mitius emendetur. Aper verò quanquam forestæ sit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi est affuetus.*

28. *Bosco nec subbosco nostro sine licentia primariorum forestæ nemo manum apponat, quòd si quis fecerit reus fit fractionis regalis chaceæ.*

libertie, but if he be not a Freeman, then he shalbe imprisoned: but if he be a bondman, then he shal lose his life.

26. My Bishops, Abbottes, and Barons, shall not be accused for hunting, if they do not kill wild beastes that be Roial beastes: but if they doe kill Roial beastes of the Forest, then they shall depend vpon the King for his determination of that matter, without any certaine fine.

27. Besides the wilde beastes of the Forest, there are other wilde beastes, which so long as they are remaining within the bandes and limittes of the Forest, they are subject to the punishment of the Lawes of the Forest: such are, wild Gotes, Hares, and Conies. And there are also diuers other wilde beastes, which although they do liue and remaine within the bounds and limits of the Forest, & are subject to the charge & burthen of the Regarders of the Forest, yet they cannot be accounted or taken to be of the Forest: Such are wilde Horses, Bugalls, wilde Kine, and such like. Foxes and Wolves, are not accounted beastes of the Forest, nor of Venerie, and therefore the killing of them is not subiect to any recompence for the same: yet notwithstanding, if they be killed within the boundes of the Forest, it is a breach of the King's Roiall free chase, and for that cause the offendor must make a recompence: but a wilde Beare, although he be of the Forest, yet he is not accustomed to be accounted a beast of Venerie.

28. No man shal laie his hande to our great Wood, or vnderwood, within our demeanes, without licence of our verderors, or cheefemen of the Forest, the which if any man shall doe the contrarie, he shalbe guilty of the breach of the Kinges Roial free chase.

² sunt equi,

29. Si quis verò ilicem aut arborem aliquam, quæ¹ victum feris suppeditat sciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti solidis. *Ilicem aliquando in Britannia [nisi intelligatur de quercu.]*

30. Volo ut omnis liber homo pro libito suo habeat venerem siue viridem in planis suis super terras suas, sine chacea tamen; & deuitent omnes meam, ubicunque eam habere voluero.

31. Nullus mediocris habebit nec custodiet canes, quos Angli Greihounds appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiscissio eorum facta fuerit coram primario forestæ licebit, aut siue genuiscissione dum remoti sunt à limitibus forestæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propius² venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno solido. Si verò infra septa forestæ reperiatur, dominus canis forisfaciet & decem solidos regi. *Greihounds.*

32. Velteres verò quos Langeran appellant, quia manifestè constat in ijs nihil esse periculi, cuiuslibet licebit siue genuiscissione eos custodire. Idem de canibus quos Ramhundert vocant. *Velter Langeran. Ramhundert.*

29. But if any man shall cut downe a Holly Tree within the Forest, or any other tree which doth beare frute or foode for the wilde beastes of the Forest, he shall paie vnto the King twentie shillings for amendes or recompence, ouer and besides the breach of the Kinges Roial free chase.

30. I will that euery freeman may take Vert and Venison at his owne pleasure, vpon his owne ground in his owne Plaines or Fildes, being without my free chase: but euery man must refraine from my Venery, wheresoeuer I will haue the same.

31. None of the meane men shall haue or keepe any Doggs which Englishmen doe call 'Grey-hounds': but it is Lawfull for a freeman to haue and keepe Grey-hounds when they are boxed, that is to say, that they shall haue their knees cut before a Verderor of the Forest. And it is Lawfull for freemen to keepe Grey-hounds without cutting of their knees when they doe dwell without the Forest, and from the bounds of the Forest ten miles distant; but when they doe come nearer to the Forest then ten miles, they must paie a recompence vnto the King, for euery mile a shilling. But when those Grey-hounds be founde within the bounds of the Forest, the owner of the Dogg shall forfeit, both the same Dogg, and also ten shillings, to the King.

32. But it shal be lawful for euery bodie to keepe little Dogs called *Velters* (that is to saie little houndes, which Englishmen doe call *Langeran*) without cutting of their knees, because it doth manifestly appeare that there is no danger of them: and the same is of little dogges called *Spanels*, which Englishmen do call 'Ramhundert': but this is ment of those that are so little, that they may sit in a mans lapp. ¹ qui ² proprius

[*Pretium hominis mediocris.*]

33. *Quoddā casu inauspicato huiusmodi canes rabidi fiant & ubique vagantur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quoddā si intra septa forestæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet secundum pretium hominis mediocris, quoddā secundum legem¹ Werinorum. 1. Churingorum,¹ est ducentorum solidorum*

[*Pretium liberi hominis.*]

34. *Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet secundum pretium hominis liberalis, quod est duodecies solidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morsafuerit, reus sit maximi criminis.*

And these are the constitutions of *Canutus* concerning the forrest, verie barbarouslie translated by those that tooke the same in hand. Howbeit, as I find it, so I set it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

* Of gardens and orchards.

Chap. 20.

Trade made our
folk rich and
idle.

After such time as Calis was woone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerse countries (whereby they grew rich) they began to wax idle also, and therevpon not onlie left off their former painfullnesse

33. If that such doggs by misfortune doe become madd or wilde, and do runne about euery where by the negligence of their maister, and doe become vnlawfull: then the owner of the same doggs shall paie a recompence to the King for their vnlawfulness. If that they be founde within the boundes of the Forest, such a maister must be sought out, and he must paie a recompence to the King for the same according to the valewe of a meane man, which, according to the auncient Lawe, is ten poundes.

34. If a greedy rauening dogg shall bite a wild beast, then the owner of the same dogg shall yeeld a recompence to the King for the same, according to the valew of a freeman, which is twelue times a hundred shillings. If a Roial beast shall be bitten, then the owner of the dogg shalbe gilty of the greatest offence."—F.

¹—¹ merimorum

² This chapter (misnumbered 19) does not appear anywhere in the ed. of 1577.—F.

and frugalitie, but in like fort gaue themfelues to liue in exceffe and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in short time were not to be had amongft vs. Such strangers alfo as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sluggishneffe, and efpieng that this idleneffe of ours might redound to their great profit, forthwith imploied their endeouours to bring in the fupplie of fuch things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reasonable prices as we fupposed, by fuch means from them, we thought it meere madneffe to fpend either time or coft about the fame here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in thofe daies repofed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exercifed both at home and other places. Besides this, the naturall defire that mankind hath to esteeme of things farre fought, bicaufe they be rare and coftlie, and the irkefome contempt of things neere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no fmall fwaie alfo in this behalfe amongft vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home, as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, afcribing I wot not what great forces and folemne estimation vnto them, vntill they alfo haue waxen old; after which, they haue beene fo little regarded, if not more defpifed amongft vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could fet downe manie, & in manie things, but fith my purpofe is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it fhall fuffice that I touch them onelie, and fhew our inconstancie in the fame, fo farre as fhall feeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word 'garden,' all fuch grounds as are wrought with the fpade by mans hand, for fo the cafe requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie elfe-where fufficientlie, which commoditie (as I

Foreigners imported supplies from abroad;

our men became idlers, and

took to wars.

We set far-fetcht goods

above home-grown ones.

By 'garden' I mean all spade-dug grounds.

Wine was once
much grown
here,

but now hardly
at all

From Hen. IV.
to Hen. VIII.
vegetables were
little us'd in
England,

but now the
poor use melons,
radishes,
turnips, &c.,

and so do our
gentlefolk.

Some too eat
dangerous
herbs,
as verangenes (?)
and mushrooms.

haue learned further since the penning of that booke) hath beene verie plentiful in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but also since the conquest, as I haue feene by record: yet at this present haue we none at all, or else verie little to speake of, growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the soile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots also, as grow yeerelie out of the ground, of seed, haue beene verie plentiful in this land, in the time of the first Edward, and after his daies: but in proceffe of time they grew also to be neglected, so that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the seuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there was little or no vse of them in England,¹ but they remained either vnknowne, or supposed as food more meet for hogs & sauage beafts to feed vpon, than mankind. Whereas in my time their vse is not onelie resumed among the poore commons,—I meane of melons, pom-pions, gourds, cucumbers, radishes, skirets,² parsneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes,³ turneps, and all kinds of salad herbes,—but also fed vpon as deintie dishes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouision yeerelie for new seeds out of strange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantie. Neither doo they now staie with such of these fruits as are wholesome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon such as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the verangenes, mushrooms, &c: as if nature had

¹ No vegetables are mentiond by John Russell in his different bills of fare for dinners in his 'Boke of Nurture,' ab. 1440 A.D., *Babees Book*, p. 164—175.—F.

² *Skirret* is in my book, p. 214, l. 1, *Sium Sisarum*, an umbelliferous plant with a small root like a little carrot, no longer cultivated in England, or very rarely.—R. C. A. PRIOR.

³ *Nauew*, *Brassica Napus*, is probably only a variety of the turnip, from which it differs in the smaller and less orbicular root, and the leaves being glabrous and not rough. It is that which is cultivated for making Colza oil, and for sheep-feed. The differences between *Brassica Napus*, *B. campestris*, and *B. Rapa* (the turnip) are really very slight, as you will see in any botanical work on British plants.—R. C. A. PRIOR.

ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whose mischievous operation the Lord in some meafure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time pafte were plentiful in this land: afterwards alfo their maintenance did ceafe; and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raifed by them? onelie poles are accounted to be their greateft charge. But fith men haue learned of late to fow afhen keies in afhyards by themfelues, that incon¹uenience in fhort time will be redreffed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it felfe to prooue no fmall benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things elfe, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time, when we gaue our felues to idleneffe, were glad to haue them other. If you looke into our gardens annexed to our houfes, how woonderfullie is their beauty increafed, not onelie with floures, which *Col[u]mella* calleth *Terrena fydera*, faieng;

Pingit & in varios terrestria fydera flores,

and varietie of curious and coftlie workmanfhip, but alfo with rare and medicinable hearbes² fought vp in the land within thefe fortie yeares: fo that in comparifon of this prefent, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laiftowes to fuch as did poffeffe them. How art alfo helpeth nature, in the dailie colouring, dubling and enlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for fo curious and cunning are our gardeners now in thefe daies, that they prefume to doo in maner what they lift with nature, and moderate hir courfe in things as if they were hir fuperiours. It is a world alfo to fee how manie ftrange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Ameri-

Hops were once plentiful here, then were difus'd, but now are reviv'd, and are nowhere better.

[1 p. 209]

Madder has been lately grown again.

We've beautiful gardens, not only with flowers,

but also rare medicinable herbe.

Art helps Nature in colouring and doubling flowers.

Our gardeners do what they like with Nature.

We import

² See John Russell's list of those for the bath of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, in *The Babees Book*, p. 183-5.—F.

foreign herbes
and annuall
from all parts of
the world.

Every rich man
has great store
of them.

Of medicinable
herbes I've seen
from 300 to 400
in one garden.

But men praise
foreign herbes
too much,

specially
Tobacco,

which isn't of
much good.
Our Thistle
Benet is as
valuable as any
foreign herb.

cans, Taprobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which, albeit that in respect of the constitutions of our bodies they doo not grow for vs, bicause that God hath bestowed sufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne necessitie; yet for delectation sake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous fauours vnto the nose, they are to be cherished, and God to be glorified also in them, bicause they are his good gifts, and created to doo man helpe and seruice. There is not almost one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great store of these floures, which now also doo begin to wax so well acquainted with our soiles, that we may almost accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no lesse regard in like sort to cherish medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions neerer hand: inso-much that I haue seene in some one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whose names, within fortie yeeres passed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find some cause of iust complaint, for that we extoll their vses so farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than such as grow elsewhere, sith (as I said before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatsoever is needfull and most conuenient for them that dwell therein. How doo men extoll the vse of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cause be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground dooth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of so great efficacie as they write. And beside this, our common germander or thistle benet is found & knowne to bee so wholesome and of so great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vsed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in fundrie other, as the *Salvia parilla*, *Mochaacan*, &c: but I forbear so to doo, because I couet to be breefe. And trulie the estimation and credit that we yeeld and

giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cause wherefore the full knowledge and vse of our owne simples hath bene so long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, so to be one sound conclusion, for the greater number of simples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confusion is found therein, because the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen so our continuall desire of strange drugs, whereby the physician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no small cause that the vse of our simples here at home dooth go to losse, and that we tread those herbes vnder our feet, whose forces if we knew, & could applie them to our necessities, we wold honor & haue in reuerence as to their case behoooueth. Alas! what haue we to doo with such Arabian & Grecian stuffe as is dailie brought from those parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of such as dwell there, are of another constitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by skill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more skilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vse forren wares when our owne maie serue the turne, is more follie; but to despise our owne, and magnifie aboue measure the vse of them that are sought and brought from farre, is most follie of all: for it fauoureth of ignorance, or at the leastwise of negligence, and therefore woorthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the most present cures for euerie disease, of their owne nation, there is small regard of compound medicins, & lesse of forren drugs, because they neither know them nor can vse them, but worke woonders euen with their owne simples. With them also the difference of the clime dooth shew hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in short time with application of one simple, &c.; if a

Compound
medicines of
foreign drugs

have led to the
disuse of our
owne simples.

Arab and Greek
stuff

grows for Arabs
and Greeks.

Our simples are
the best for us.

Indians, who
are the best
doctors,

work wonders
with their own
simples.

Spaniard or English man stand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer space in their cures, and now and then also to vse some addition of two or three simples at the most, whose forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, because their exercise is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer fought or heard what vertue was in those that came from other countries.

Marcus Cato
used Roman
simples, and
studied them.

And euen so did Marcus Cato, the learned Roman, indeuor to deale in his cures of fundrie diseases, wherein he not onelie vsed such simples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but also examined, and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt so diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could attaine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of those most learnedlie, as would easilie be seene, if those his bookes were extant. For the space also of 600 yeeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diseases, so that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in those parts.

For 600 years
Colewort was
the only medi-
cine in Rome.

Pliny complains
of the later rage
for outlandish
drugs.

In *Plinies* time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he speaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè nascentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; si placet etiam superstitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam supplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem sine his posse constare, vel ob id probalimus, ut tanto magis sui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vse of outlandish drugs had not blinded our physicians of England in times passed, but that the vertues of our simples here at home would haue beene far better knowne, and so well vnto vs, as those of India are to the practisioners of those partes, and therevnto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This also will I ad, that euen those which are most common by reason of their plentie, and most vile bicause of their abundance,

These have stopt
the study of our
own simples.

are not without some vniuerfall and especiall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: sith God in nature hath so disposed his creatures, that the most needfull are the most plentifull, and seruing for such generall diseases as our constitution most commonlie is affected ¹ withall.

God has made the most needful herbs the most plentiful.

[* p. 210]

Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the physicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to search out the vse of such simples as our soile dooth yeeld and bring forth, but also to procure such as grow elsewhere, vpon purpose so to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time, through some alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewise turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vsed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder, of this deuise, is *Carolus Clusius*, the noble herbarist, whose industrie hath woonderfullie stirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that *Matthiolus*, *Rembert*, *Lobell*, and other, haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come neere to *Clusius*, much lesse gone further in the finding and true descriptions of such herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one seuen yeeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our physicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cherishing of such homeborne and forren simples in their gardens; for hereby they shall not onlie be had at hand and preserued, but also their formes made more familiar to be discerned, and their forces better knowne than hitherto they haue beene.

If Clusius, the noble herballist,

could be 7 years in England, he'd find many unknown useful herbes here.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, so dooth it with our orchards, which were neuer furnished with so good fruit, nor with such varietie as at this present. For beside that we haue most delicate apples, plummes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c: and those of sundrie sorts, planted within fortie yeeres passed, in comparifon of

Orchards.

Fruita.

Foreign fruits
here : almonds
figs, oranges,
lemons.

which most of the old trees are nothing woorth : so haue we no lesse store of strange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, corne-trees¹ in noble mens orchards. I haue seene capers, oranges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beside other strange trees, brought from far, whose names I know not. So that England for these commodities was neuer better furnished, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifulle indued with these and other blessings from the most high God, who grant vs grace withall to vse the same to his honour and glorie ! and not as instruments and prouocations vnto further excessse and vanitie, wherewith his displeasure may be kindled, least these his benefits doo turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and punishment, which he hath bestowed vpon vs for our consolation and comfort.

Grafters

make the same
tree bear fruits
of different
kinds.

We haue in like sort such workemen as are not onelie excellent in grafting the naturall fruits, but also in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one tree bringeth forth fundrie fruits, and one and the same fruit of diuers colours and tafts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir course, as if her whole trade were perfectlei knowne vnto them : of hard fruits they will make tender, of sowre sweet, of sweet yet more delicate, beereuing also some of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the sauour of muske, ambre, or sweet spices at their pleasures. Diuerse also haue written at large of these seuerall practises, and some of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of small fruit to make farre greater, and to remooue or ad superfluous or necessarie moisture to the trees, with other things belonging to their preferuation, and with no lesse diligence than our physicians doo commonlie shew vpon our owne diseased bodies, which

Writers on
grafters'
manœuvres.

¹ *Corne* trees are probably *cornels*, from one of which, the *C. ras*, L., the berries are commonly eaten in Italy, and sherbet made from them in the East. In Italy they are called *cornia* and *corniola*.—R. C. A. PRIOR.

to me dooth seeme right strange. And euen so doo our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are strengthened against noisome blasts, and preserued from putrefaction and hinderance; whereby some such as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yeerelie taken vp, and either reserued in the house, or hauing the roffe pulled from their rootes, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in safetie. What choise they make also in their waters, and wherewith some of them doo now and then keepe them moist, it is a world to see; infomuch that the apothecaries shops maie seeme to be needfull also to our gardens and orchards, and that in fundrie wise: naie, the kitchen it selfe is so farre from being able to be missed among them, that euen the verie dishwater is not without some vse amongest our finest plants. Whereby, and fundrie other circumstances not here to bee remembred, I am perswaded, that albeit the gardens of the *Hesperides* were in times past so greatlie accounted of, because of their delicacie: yet if it were possible to haue such an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in comparison of those times, wherein the old exceeded.

Plinie and other speake of a rose that had three score leaues growing vpon one button: but if I should tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I shall not be beleued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, such a one was to be seene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a slip or stallon thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the same, which should haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndoone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boast a little of my garden, which is but small, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, such hath bene

Gardeners turn

annual into perpetual herbes.

Even our dish-water is us'd for plants!

The Gardens of the *Hesperides*

were not equal to ours now-a-days.

Pliny talks of a rose with 60 leaves on one bud.

At Antwerp in 1585 was a rose with 180 leaves, and I could haue had a slip off its tree for £10.

Harrison's own Garden,

800 ft. square,

has 300 simples
in it.

Largest English
gardens.

my good lucke in purchase of the varietie of simples, that notwithstanding my small abilitie, there are verie neere three hundred of one fort and other contained therein, no one of them being common or vsuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all cost in keeping, be so well furnished, what shall we thinke of those of Hampton court, Nonesuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and fundrie other appertaining to diuerse citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I should not seeme to offend them by such my demeanour and dealing?]

[Of waters generallie.

Chap. 21.¹

None of our
rivers have the
same odd quali-
ties that old
writers told lies
about.

[*p. 211]

Here is no one commoditie in England, where-
of I can make lesse report than of our waters.
For albeit our soile abound with water in all
places, and that in the most ample maner: yet can I
not find by some experience that almost anie one of our
riuers hath such od and rare qualities as diuers of the
maine are said to be indued withall. *Vitruuius* writeth
of a well in Paphlagonia, whose water seemeth as it
were mixed with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerse
become drunke by superfluous taking of the same. The
like force is found *In amne Liceſio*, a riuer of Thracia,
vpon whose bankes a man shall hardlie misse to find
some traueller or other sleeping for drunkenneſſe, by
drinking of that liquor. Neere also vnto Ephesus are
certeine welles, which taste like sharpe vineger, and
therefore are much esteemed of by such as are sicke
and euill at ease in those parts. At Hieropolis is a
spring of such force (as *Strabo* saith) that the water
thereof mixed with certaine herbes of choise, dooth
colour wooll with such a glosse, that the die thereof

¹ This chapter (mainly old lies) is not in the edition of 1577.—F.

contendeth with skarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the same. The Cydnus¹ in Tarsus of Cilicia, is of such vertue, that who so batheth himselfe therein, shall find great ease of the gowt that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (saith *Pomponius* the Cosmographer) are two springs, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other sadnesse and restraint of that effect, whereby the last is taken to be a fouereigne medicine against the other, to the great admiration of such as haue beholden it. At Sufis in Persia there is a spring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to cast all his teeth: but if he onlie wash his mouth withall, it maketh them fast, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, wherof if a beaſt drinke, he forthwith casteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Also a lake in Assyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth such birds as by hap doo light thereon so fast as birdlime, by means wherof verie manie doo perish and are taken that light vpon the same: howbeit, if anie portion hereof happen to be set on fire by casualtie or otherwise, it will neuer be quenched but by casting on of dust, as *Caietanus* dooth report. Another at Halicarnassus called Salmacis, which is noted to make such men effeminate as drinke of the water of the same. Certes it maie be (saith *Strabo*) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of some men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing because of such corruption in them, sooner than superfluous wealth, and inconstancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all natures, *lib.* 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue strange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the

What old rivers
are said to haue
done:—

cur'd the gout,

caus'd laughter,
sadness,

loss of teeth,
restoration of
'em,

loss of beaſts'
hoofs and hornes;

caught birds,

caus'd
effeminacy.

This is all
gammon.

¹ orig. Cydinus

All the water in
England is
good.

Some of our
waters turn
wood into stone.

Lies about

a Welsh lake.

There are plenty
more such.

like wherof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the blessing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongst vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholefome, and most commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongst vs, but all wholefome and profitable for the benefit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fish: so we know by experience, that diuerse turne ash, some other elme, and oken stakes or poles that lie or are throwne into them into hard stone, in long continuance of time, which is the strangest thing that I can learne at this present wherevpon to rest for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerse welles, wherevnto our old writers ascribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courses, as of one vpon the shore, beyond the which the sea floweth euerie daie twise a large mile and more; and yet is the surge of that water alwaies feuen foot from the salt sea: whereby it should seeme that the head of the spring is moouable. But, alas! I doo not easilie beleeeue it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is neere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing sea into hir channell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the sea goeth awaie by reason of the ebbe, it casteth vp the water with such violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an absurd report. They ad also, that if all the people of the countrie stood neere to the same, with their faces toward the lake in such maner that the dashing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they should haue no power to go from thence, but mawgre their resistance be drawne into that gulfe, and perish; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the same, they should suffer no such inconuenience, though they stood neuer so neere. Manie other such like toies I could set downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie should I write that, for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my

selfe, more than to the report which *Iohannes du Choul* dooth make in his description of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or *Boccatius* of the Scaphigiolo in the Appenine hils, or *Fælix Malliolus* of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (whereof¹ *Iacobus de Voragino*, bishop of Gene, & *Ioachim Vadianus* in *Pompon. Melam* doo also make mention), sith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man should staine his paper with such friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuised at the first by Satan as the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their superstitions and errors. Such also is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie neere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein such as went by would dip branches of baie, and sprinkle the same vpon themselues: and so manie as stood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and crauing pardon for their sinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiueneffe and remission of their trespasses. And so it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods, nor liking of the augures,) dooth write in his first *De legibus* (except my memorie faile me), *asperfione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & castimoniam corporis præstari*, which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further also (if I would) make relation of diuerse welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of superstition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadstocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and sundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or satisfaction of the lewd disposition of such as hunted after other game, so it shall suffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I ad, that we

But what's the
good of writing
'em when I
know they're
lies?

Satan invented
'em.

St Winifred's
well, and one
near Rome,

did as much
good as our late
'holie-water.'

As to wells
working
Miracles, as
Holie Well in
London, &c.,
they were
but baits
to draw money
or satisfy lust.

¹ orig. where-

A spring near
Lord Audley's,
at Saffron
Walden,
looses the
bowels.

I've drunk of it.

Of 2 wells near
London, one
won't bear soap.

haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our sheepe, though it please *Cardan* to auouch otherwise; for our waters are not the causes, but the signes of their infections when they drinke, as I elswhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as also that we haue a spring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the house of the lord Audleie, which is of such force, that it looseth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beside that, is verie delectable & pleasant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare also of two welles neere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no sope, and yet so situat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.]

Of woods and marishes.

Chap. 22.¹

*Great abundance
of wood sometime
in England.*

[2 p. 212]

Now we've but
little, except
near our
dwellings.

IT should seeme by ancient records, and the testimonie of sundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue sometimes beene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the said commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in such wise that a man ²shall oft ride ten or twentie miles in ech of them, and find verie little, or rather none at all, except it be neere vnto townes, gentlemens houses, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, hafels, or ashes, about their dwellings, for their defense from the rough winds, and keeping of the stormie weather from annoiance of the same. This scarfitie at the first grew (as it is thought) either by the industrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderstand the like to be doone of late by the Spaniards in the west Indies, where they fired whole woods of

¹ This is chap. 16, Bk 2, in 1577 ed.—F.

verie great compasse, therby to come by ground whereon to sow their graines,) or else thorough the couetousnesse of such, as, in preferring of pasture for their sheepe and greater cattell, doo make small account of firebote and timber: or finallie, by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue fundrie examples declared in our histories. Howbeit, where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the swart of the earth to be so thin, that no tree of anie greatnesse, other than shrubs and bushes, is able to grow or prosper long therein, for want of sufficient moisture wherewith to feed them with fresh humour, or at the leastwise of mould, to shrowd, staie vp right, and cherish the same in the blustering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatnesse, and spread or yeeld their rootes downe right into the soile about them: and this either is or may be one other cause, wherefore some places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I must needs confesse that there is good store of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in some places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our ancestors haue seene heretofore, when statelie building was lesse in vse. For albeit that there were then greater number of mefuages and mansions almost in euery place; yet were their frames so slight and slender, that one meane dwelling house in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you consider the present charge, with the plentie of timber that we bestow vpon them. In times past, men were contented to dwell in houses, builded of fallow, willow, plumbtree, hardbeame, and elme, so that the vse of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houses, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & nauigation: but now all these are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet see the change, for when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men

On rocks the
sward is too
thin to grow
trees.

We have far les
timber than
our forefathers
had.

The frames of
their houses
were slight,

and made of
willow, horn-
beam, elm, &c.

Now, oak only
is us'd.

Yet with
willow houses
they had
oken men:
now with
oaken houses,

we have willow
and straw men.
*Desire of much
wealth and ease
abateh man-
hood, & over-
throweth a
manlie courage.*

Chimnies.
(see p. 229.)

In old days
we'd none : the
smoke hardend
the timber, and
kept colds off
the men.

Our timber
frames are now
of far better
design than of
old,

and all the
crooked oak is
us'd up in them.

Our amateur (?)
architects are
very clever.

And they never
tire of altering
their buildings.

are not onlie become willow, but a great manie [through Perſian delicacie crept in among vs] altogether of ſtraw, which is a fore alteration. In thoſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defence to keepe the houſe in ſafetie, but now the aſſurance of the timber, [double doores, lockes and bolts,] muſt defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies; and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poſes. Then had we none but reredoſſes; and our heads did neuer ake. For as the ſmoke in thoſe daies was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardning for the timber of the houſe, ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to keepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or poſe, wherewith, as then, verie few were [oft] acquainted.

[Of the curiousneſſe of theſe piles I ſpeake not, ſith our workemen are growne generallie to ſuch an excellencie of deuife in the frames now made, that they far paſſe the fineſt of the old. And ſuch is their huſbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the ſame ſtuffe which in time paſt was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no uſe but the fire, dooth now come in the fronts and beſt part of the worke. Wherby the common ſaieng is likewiſe in theſe daies verified in our manſion houſes, which earſt was ſaid onelie of the timber for ſhips, that 'no oke can grow ſo crooked but it falleth out to ſome uſe,' & that neceſſarie in the nauie. It is a world to ſee moreouer how diuerſe men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in ſpending of their goods by that trade, doo dailie imagine new deuifes of their owne, to guide their workemen withall, and thoſe more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding alſo of their workes, how they ſet vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they reſtreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purſes neuer ſhut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.]

Deſtruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis

faith the poet. So that if a man ſhould well conſider of all the od crotchets in ſuch a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen enough of thoſe affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he ſhould not well be able to deale in anie other. But ſuch commonlie are our workemaſters, that they haue beſide this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little leſſe buſineſſe in the commonwealth, or finallie, no ſmall dealings otherwiſe incident vnto them, wherby gaine ariſeth, and ſome trouble oft among withall. Which cauſeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts ſo well, of ſo manie fundrie men, whereas diuerſe other, of greater forecaſt in apparance, can feldome ſhift well or thrue in anie one of them. But to our purpoſe.]

And yet with all the odd crochets filling our builders' brains, they manage other buſineſſes.

We haue manie woods, forreſts, and parks, which cheriſh trees abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almoſt no hedge that hath not ſome ſtore of the greateſt ſort, beſide infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and ſprings, that are mainteined of purpoſe for the building and prouiſion of ſuch owners as doo poſſeſſe the ſame. Howbeit, as euerie ſoile dooth not beare all kinds of wood, ſo there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or forreſt, that is not mixed with diuerſe,¹ as oke, aſh, haſell, hawthorne, birch, beech, hardbeame, hull, forſe, [quicken, aſpe, poplers,] wild cherie, and ſuch like, wherof oke hath alwaies the preheminance, as moſt meet for building [and the nauie,] whervnto it is referued. This tree bringeth forth alſo a profitable kind of maſt, whereby ſuch as dwell neere vnto the aforeſaid places doo cheriſh and bring vp innumerable heards of ſwine. In time of plentie of this maſt, our red and fallow deere will not let to participat [thereof] with our hogs, more than our² nete: yea, our common pultrie alſo, if they may come

In hedgerowes, &c., trees are grown,

as hazel, hawthorn, hornbeam, holly, ſorb (ſee p. 366, 367), mountain-aſh, aſpen, and ſpecially oak.

Acorns are eaten by ſwine, deer, and poultry.

¹ many

² our other

*The like haue I
seene where hens
doo feed vpon the
tender blades of
garlike.*

Oak-bark is
bought by
tanners in May.

I do want our
shoe-leather
well tann'd.

If quickly done
it has no
'sadness' or
lasting.
We haue laws
against this
hasty tanning,

[² p. 218]

but the rascally
tanners bribe
the rascally
administrators
of the law,

and make worse
leather than
ever.

Park oaks are

vnto them. But as this abundance dooth prooue verie pernicious vnto the first, so these¹ eggs which these latter doo bring forth (beside blackenesse in color and bitterness of tast,) haue not seldome beene found to breed diuerse diseases vnto such persons as haue eaten of the same. I might ad in like sort the profit insuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vse in dressing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the sadame, as I haue oft seene: but it shall not need at this time to enter into anie such discourse; onlie this I wish, that our sole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be hastened on by extraordinarie flights, as with ash, barke, &c. Whereby, as I grant that it seemeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well doone: so, if you respect the sadnes therof, it dooth prooue in the end to be verie hollow, & not able to hold out water. [Neuerthelesse we haue good lawes for redresse of this enormitie, but it commeth to passe in these, as in the execution of most penall statutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the same being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie persons, they make a shew of great reformation at the first, & for a litle while, till they find that following of sute² in law against the offenders, is somewhat too chargeable and tedious. This, therefore, perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admission of gifts and rewards to winke at things past, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then doo they tender licences, and offer large dispensations vnto him that shall aske the same, thereby to doo what him listeth in his trade for an yearelie pension, whereby the bribour now groweth to some certeine reuenues, & the tanner to so great libertie, that his lether is much worse than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifest illusion of the good subiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England, the parke oke is the

¹ the

softest, and far more spalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Essex, that growing in Bardfield parke is the finest for ioiners craft : for oftentimes haue I seene of their workes made of that oke so fine and faire, as most of the wainescot that is brought hither out of Danke, for our wainescot is not made in England. Yet diuerse haue assaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with so good successe as they haue hoped, bicause the ab or iuice will not so soone be remoued and cleane drawne out, which some attribute to want of time in the salt water. Neuerthelesse, in building, so well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer so much hath bene spent in a hundred years before, as is in ten yeare of our time ; for euerie man almost is a builder, and he that hath bought any small parcell of ground, be it neuer so little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old house (if anie were there standing), and set vp a new after his owne deuise. But wherevnto will this curiositie come ?]

Of elme [we haue great store in euerie high waie and elsewhere, yet]¹ haue I not seene thereof anie¹ together in woods or forrests, but where they haue bene first planted, and then suffered to spread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of beech and hasell in manie places, especiallie in Barkeeshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire, where they are greatlie cherished, & conuerted to fundrie vses by such as dwell about them. [Of all the elms that euer I saw, those in the south side of Douer court, in Essex neere Harwich, are the most notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almost apt for nothing else but nauie timber, great ordinance, and beetels ; and such thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vsed in the said behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trees in whatfoeuer parcell else of this land, without cuphar, fhaking, or cleauing, as I find.]

¹—¹ I haue not seene any great store

more brittle than hedge oaks. In Essex, the Bardfield-Park oak is the best.

Our wainescot is not made in England, but brought out of Denmark.

In the last 10 years we've us'd as much oak as in the former 100 years.

Every man's pulled down his old house and rebuilt it.

Elm woods not planted.

Beech and hazel woods.

In Essex, the Dover-court elms are the most noteworthy.

Ash.

Plane, yew,
lime, black
cherry.Yew in York-
shire and Kent.

Fir.

Frankincense
and Pine.Aspen, for
arrows,
Poplars, for
bowls, troughs.Alder, whose
bark dies howe
black.Great sales of
wood.

Ash commeth vp euerie where of it selfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie, and no lesse vse of these in our husbandrie, so are we not without the plane, the vgh, the forfe, the chestnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and such like. And, although that we inioy them not in so great plentie now in most places, as in times past, or the other afore remembred; yet haue we sufficient of them all for our necessarie turnes and vses, especiallie of vgh; as may be seene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and some steeds of Kent also, as I haue beene informed.]

The firre, frankincense, and pine, we doo not altogether want, especiallie the firre, whereof we haue some store in Chatleie moore in Darbeshire, Shropshire, Andernesfe, and a mosse neere Manchester, [not far from Leircesters house: although that in time past, not onelie all Lancastershire, but a great part of the coast betweene Chester and the Solme were well stored.] As for the frankincense and pine, they haue beene planted [onelie] in colleges and cloisters, by the cleargie and religious heretofore.¹ Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather saie that we want them altogether: for except they grew² naturallie, and not by force, I see no cause whie they should be accounted for parcell of our commodities. [We haue also the aspe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The feuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vse for bolles, treies, troughs, dishes, &c. Also the alder, whose barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therefore much vsed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hosen.] I might here take occasion to speake of the great sales yeerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie³ hath bin destroied within these few yeers: but I giue ouer to trauell⁴ in this behalfe. Howbeit⁵ thus

¹ in tymes past
⁴ deale

² dyd growe

³ deale
⁵—⁵ thys

much⁵ I dare affirme, that if woods¹ go so fast to decaie in the next hundred yeere of Grace, as they haue doone and are like to doo in this, sometimes for increafe of sheepwalks, and some maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a [well burnished] gentleman* that hath borne threecore at once in one paire of galigafcons to shew his strength and brauerie), it is to be feared that [the fennie bote,] broome, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, haffacks, flags, straw, fedge, reed, rush, and [also] seacole, will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, wherevnto some of them² euen now² haue gotten readie passage, and taken vp their innes in the greatest merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able inough to make sufficient prouision for the redresse of this error & enormitie likelie to infue. But such is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie laws are made, so they will keepe none; or if they be vrged to make answer, they will rather seeke some crooked construction³ of them³ to the increafe of their priuat gaine, than yeeld themselues⁴ to be guided by the same for a common wealth and profit [to their countrie.] So that in the end, whatfoeuer the law faith, we will haue our willes, whereby the wholesome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & counsellors as it were derided, the common wealth impouerished, & a few onelie enriched by this peruerse dealing. Thus⁶ manie thousand persons doo suffer hinderance by this their lewd⁷ behauior. Hereby⁸ the wholesome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, [and] the good meaning magistrate in consultation about the common wealth⁹ vtterlie neglected.⁹ I would wish that I might liue no longer than to see foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of discipline in the church: the couetous dealing of most of our merchants

Woods are us'd
up too fast.
I know a man
who turn'd 80
into one pair of
breeches.

* This gentleman caught
such an heate
with this sore
loade that he
was faine to go
to Rome for
physicke, yet it
could not saue
his life, but hee
must needs dis-
homewards.

Our laws ought
to stop this;

but our folk
walk thro' laws
whenever they
can gain by it.

They will have
their willes, and
let the common-
wealth go to the
bad.

I only want to
live till
four things
are reformed:
1. Church dis-
cipline;

¹ woods doe
⁶ whereas

²⁻³ alreadie
⁷ crooked

²⁻³ therof
⁸ whereby

⁴ themselves willing
⁹⁻⁹ seduced

2. Merchants' covetousness ;

3. Fairs not on Sundays, but Wednesdays ;

4. 1 acre of every 40 to be planted with wood.

Now any trifle justifies cutting down woods, turning corn land into pasture, and pulling down houses.

Would to God we settled these things by law, as the Romans did ;

[3 p. 214]

and as they do now in Venice.

in the preferment of [the commodities of] other countries, and hinderance of their owne : the holding of faires¹ and markets vpon the fundaie to be abolished and referred to the wednesdaies : and that euerie man,² in whatfoeuer [part of the champaine] soile enioieth fortie³ acres of land and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or sowe the same with [oke] mast,⁴ hafell, beech, and sufficient prouision be made that it may be cherished and kept.⁴ But I feare me that I should then liue too long, and so long, that I should either be wearie of the world, or the world of me ; and yet they are not such things but they may easilie be brought to passe.

Certes euerie small occasion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle sufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto pasture. As for the taking downe of houses, a small fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who, in restraint of superfluous grasing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech estate might keepe, and what numbers of acres should suffice for that and other purposes. Neither was wood euer⁵ better cherished, or mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. [Such also was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yeerelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, leaft their vnneccessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might prooue a preiudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stufte for the furniture of their nauie. Certes the like hereof is yet obserued in Venice. Read also, I praie you, what *Suetonius* writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated

¹ Compare *Stubi's Anatomie*, p. 218. Turnbull.—F. ² man wyth ³ foure

⁴—⁴ beside that which remayneth already to be cherished and kept

toward the maintenance of the common nauie, I passe it ouer, as hauing elfewhere remembred it vnto another end.] But what doo I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of [our owne] woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that [beside some countries are alreadie driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an heauie report:] within these fortie yeeres we shall haue little great¹ timber growing aboue² fortie yeeres old; for it is commonlie seene that those yoong staddles which we leaue standing at one & twentie yeeres fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Within 40 years
we shall haue
little timber left
growing.

Marishes and fennie bogges we haue many in England, [though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers doo specifie,] but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit, as they are verie profitable in [the] summer halfe of the yeere, so are a number of them [which lie lowe and neere to great riuers,] to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience dooth teach. Yet this I find of manie³ moores, that in times past they haue beene harder ground, and fundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may see the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Aburgauennie, and Merioneth,) in fundrie parts of Lancashire, where [great store of firre hath growen in times past, as I said,] and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marishes with long spits, which they dash here and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie doone in winter), if they happen to smite vpon⁴ anie firre trees which lie there at their whole lengths, or

Marishes and
fennes

Many moors
were once hard
ground well
wooded.

In Lancashire,
people in winter
prod for fir-trees
with long spits,

¹ new

² aboue two and

³ manie of these

⁴—⁴ a tree or blocke

and then dig
'em out and
draw 'em home
in harvest-time.

So in Shropshire.

Noah's-Flood
fools (of whom
the race is not
yet extinct in
1876).

If men would
but ditch and
drain more,
they'd make
more dry soil.

Lincoln was
formerly ring
with woods.

The Peak Hills
were also covered
with woods,
which are all
gone now.

other blocks,⁴ they note the place, and about haruest time, when the ground is at the driefst, they come againe and get them¹ vp, and afterward carieng them¹ home, applie them¹ to their vses. The like doo they in Shrophshire with ²the like,² which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies floud : and other, more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria, was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled, or ouerthrowne vpon fundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in proceffe of time became to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due sadnesse, are now turned into moorie plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betweene the new loose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawn awaie [by ditching and dreanes (a thing soone doone, if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe),] might soone leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was somtime builded by Lud, brother to Caffibelan, who called it Cair Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same : but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines : for the wood (³as I heare³) is wasted altogether about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Mennith ⁴and Orcoit,⁵ that is, the wooddie hilles [and forrests.] But how much wood is now to be seene in those places, let him that hath beene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of ⁶no such store there as hath beene

¹ it
⁴—⁵ Coit

²—³ fire wood

³—³ I say
⁶—⁶ none

in time past¹ by ¹those that¹ trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marifes, and so far as I can deale with the fame.

Of baths and hot welles.

Chap. 23.²

AS almightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable, benefits, vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little enriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in fundrie places), it manifestlie appeereth that he hath not forgotten England. There are fundrie³ baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called [aint] Vincents, the second Halliwell⁴; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not feldome fought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cafes they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is neere vnto Buxton, a towne in Darbshire, situat in the high Peke, not passing fixeene miles from Manchester, or Marke[t]chesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where about eight or nine feuerall welles are to be seene; of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hottest, void of corruption, and compared (as *Jones* faith) with those of Summerfetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fise quartes of running water were added therevnto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot

God haen't forgotten to give us hot baths and wells,

as 1. St. Vincents, 2. Halliwell (? in Shore-ditch,

3. Buxton in Derbyshire,

which has 8 or 9 wells, 3 being most excellent.

¹—¹ such as

³ foure

² This is Chap. 14, Bk 2, in 1577 ed.—F.

⁴ Hally Well

The best Buxton bath.

4. Kings Newnham, not far from (12 miles east of) Coventry in Warwickshire.

(I've tasted its water, like alum.)

[² p. 215]

This water is sent all over the country. Of the other 2 wells, one's kept for comely folk, and the 2nd left for tag and rag.

These wells cure colic, stone, old sores and fresh wounds.

water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleafantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great speed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe; yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer withall lesse greuous accidents in the restraining of naturall issues, strengthening the affeebled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious oppilations, and qualifieng of fundrie griefes, as [his] experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such meafure¹: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceiued. [The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) proceedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue beene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a taft much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnplefant nor vnfaurie in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefeft and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, & from thence infinit plentie of water without ²any notable diminution of the spring is dailie caried into fundrie parties of the realme, & droonke by such as haue need to occupie the same. Of the other two, one is reserued for such as be comelie personages and void of lothsome diseases: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clenfed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholesomer. Manie diseases also are cured in the same, as the palsie, dimnesse of sight, dulnesse of hearing, but especiallie the collike and the stone, old sores and greene wounds; so that I suppose there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more speedie force in these behalves, than the vse of this simple liquor is to such as doo frequent it. The

¹ measure and degree

saïd water hath a naturall propertie also following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or sticke of ash, oke, &c : doo fall into the same, within a short space, such store of fine sand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being referued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will seeme to become an hard stone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue seene by experience. At the first entrance it is verie cold, but after a season it warmeth the goer in, casting him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet susteined anie manner of impeachment through the coldnesse of the same. The vertue thereof was found 1579, about Whitfuntide, by a man who had wounded himselfe, & comming by the same water, thought onelie to wash the blood from his hand therewith, and so to go home and seeke for helpe by surgerie : finallie finding the paine well affwaged, & the wound faire clenfed, he departed, and misliking his vsuall medicins, he eftsoones came againe, and so often indeed vnto the saïd water, till his hand was healed outright without anie other practise. By this meanes also he became a counsellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they should trie the vertue of this spring, who, finding ease also, gaue out such commendation of the saïd water, that now at this present their fame is fullie equall, and the resort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beside this, the cures of such diseases as their forces do extend vnto, is much more speedie than we may haue at the other ; and this is one commoditie also not smallie to be considered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from faint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) faint Needs, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two springs are knowne to be, of which the one is verie sweet and fresh, the other brack-

The Newnham
baths also
petrify leaues
and bite of
wood,

and in 1579 the
water heald a
man's wounded
hand.

5. Newton, near
St Neots, in
Huntingdon-
shire. It has 2
springs.

One Newton
spring good for
leprosy: the
other for dim
sight.

6. Wells near
Rugby;

7. at Ratcliffe
near London;

8. Bath, in
Somersetshire
(where I, parson
Harrison, have
been ?)

a very ancient
city, with
carven stones
in its walls.

ish & salt; this is good for scabs and leaperie (as it is said), the other for dimnesse of sight. Verie manie also doo make their repaire vnto them for fundrie diseases, some returning whole, and some nothing at all amended, bicause their cure is without the reach and working of those waters. Neuer went people so fast from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to these wels, and those neere Rugbie, both places being discouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found also about Ratcliffe neere London, euen at the same season. But sith rumors are now spread almost of euerie spring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I surcease to speake at all of anie other, till further experience doo trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but most of these alredie mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred also, though confusedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in proceffe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of fundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath woonderfullie bene missed.]

The¹ last place of our baths, is a citie in Summersetshire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be seene and vsed. At the first it was called Cair Bledud, and not Cair Bledune, as some would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient castell at Malmesburie, which the Saxons named Yngleburne, *Ptolomie* afterward called it *Thermæ*, other *Aquæ solis*, [or *Scamannia*, or *Acmanester*,] but now it hight generallie Bath in English, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it felse is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerse notable antiquities ingraued in stone, to be seene in the wals thereof; and first of all betweene the south gate and the west, and betwixt the west gate and the north.

¹ The fourth and

The first is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue seene of *Antius* the Romane. The second betweene the south and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of *Hercules*, for he held in each hand a serpent, and so dooth this. Thirdlie, there standeth a man on foot with a sword in his one hand, and a buckler stretched out in the other. There is also a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wealth of *Alcimedon*. There are, moreouer, two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beside sundrie antike heads, with ruffled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but so defaced, that no man liuing can read them at this present. There is, moreouer, the image of *Lacaon*, inuironed with two serpents, and an other inscription: and all these betweene the south and the west gates, as I haue said before.

Sculptur'd
stones in the
walls of Bath;

one with a
Latin inscrip-
tion now
defac't,

Now, betweene the west and north gate are two inscriptions, of which some words are euident to be read, the residue are cleane defaced. There is also the image of a naked man, and a stone in like sort, which hath *Cupidines & labruscas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie florished both aboue and beneath. Finallie (sauing that I saw afterward the image of a naked man grasping a serpent in each hand), there was an inscription of a toome or buriall, wherein these words did plainelie appeare, *Vixit annos xxx*: but so defusedlie written, that letters stood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes, I will not saie whether these were set into the places where they now stand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it selfe, and placed afterward in those wals, in their necessarie reparations. But howfoeuer the matter standeth, this is to be gathered by our histories, that *Bladud* first builded that

others, with

inscriptions that
can be read;

also, an
inscription on a
tomb.

The City of
Bath.

Chap. 25.

[The Pyritis is
found almost in
euerie veine of
mettall in great
plentie, diuer-
sities and colour,
and sometimes
mixed with that
mettall of whose
excrements it
consisteth.]

[* p. 216]

Dr Turner, the
Father of
English Physic,
thinks the
Bath waters
hold sulphur
and salt-petre,
but not alum.

Bath's very
pleasantly
situated, in a
bottom ringd
with hills
whence streams
run.

citie there, and, peradventure, might also kindle the sulphurous veines, of purpose to burne continuallie [there] in the honour of *Minerua*; by which occasion the springs thereabout did in proceffe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for sundrie kinds of diseases. Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that *Minerua* was the cheefe goddesse and gouernesse of these waters, bicause of the neereneffe of hir temple vnto the same.

Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir said temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer consume into dead sparkles; but so soone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard stone: all which I take to be nothing else than the effect of the aforefaid fire, of the sulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters doo come. That these baths or waters are deriued from such, the marchasites,¹

[which the Grecians call *Pyritis*, *per antonomasiam* (for being smit with the iron, it yeeldeth more sparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore seemeth to deserue the name aboue the rest), and besides these other] stones mixed with some copper, and dailie found vpon the moun²teins thereabouts will beare sufficient witnesse, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor

Turner also, the father of English physicke, and an excellent diuine, supposeth that these springs doo draw their forces from sulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gesseth that it should be salt peter, bicause he found an obscure likelihood of the same, euen in the crosse bath.³ But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beleue. I might here (if I thought it necessarie) intreat of the notable situation of⁴ [the citie,] which standeth in a pleasant bottome, inuironed on euerie side with great hills, out of the which come so manie springs of pure water by sundrie waies vnto the citie, and in such abundance, as that

¹ marchasites &

² crosse Bath

⁴ of Bath itself

euerie house is serued with the same by pipes of lead, the said mettall being the [more] plentiful and lesse of value vnto them, bicause it is ¹ not had ¹ far off from those quarters. It should not be amisse also to speake of the foure gates, number of parish churches, bridges, religious houses dissolued, and their founders, if place did serue therefore: but for so much as my purpose is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of these things, and go in hand with the baths themselves, wherof in [the title of] this chapter I protested to intreat.

The city of Bath is well supplied with water,

and has 4 gates, bridges, &c.

There are two springs of water (as *Leland* saith) in the west south west part of the towne, whereof the biggest is called the crosse bath, of a certeine crosse that was erected sometime in the middest thereof. This bath is much frequented by such as are diseased with leaprie, pockes, scabs, and great aches: yet of it selfe, it is verie temperate and pleasant, hauing eleuen ² or twelue arches of stone in the sides thereof, for men to stand vnder, when raine dooth ought annoie them.

Crosse bath.

This is the biggest,

and is us'd for leprosy, scabs, &c.

The common bath, or, as some call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot or thereabout from the crosse bath, lesse in compasse within the wall than the other, and with onelie seauen arches, wrought out of the maine inclosure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the first comming into it, men thinke that it would scald their flesh, and lose it from the bone; but after a season, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the same, it is more tollerable and easie to be borne. Both these baths be in the middle of a little street, and ioine to S. Thomas hospitall, so that it may be thought that Reginald, bishop of Bath, made his house neere vnto these common baths, onelie to succour such poore people as should resort vnto them.

Common bath.

This is the hot bath, and at first men think it'll scald the flesh off their bones.

The kings bath is verie faire and large, standing almost in the middle of the towne, at the west end of

Kings bath.

¹—¹ had not

² a leuen

The hot wells in
Bath.

*Hot houses in
some countries
little better than
brodels.¹*

*Colour of the
water of the
baths.
Taste of the
water.*

*Fall or issue
of the water.*

*At noon and
midnight the
waters boil so
hotly that no
man may go
into them.*

the cathedrall church. It is compassed about with a verie high stone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to stand in separatlie, who, being of the gentrie for the most part, doo resort thither indifferently, but not in such lasciuious fort as vnto other baths and hot houses of the maine, whereof some write more a great deale than modestie should reueale and honestie performe. There went a sluice out of this bath, which serued in times past the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vsed for baths, but now I doo not thinke that they remaine in vsage.

As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is most like to a deepe blew, and reeketh much after the maner of a seething pot, commonlie yeelding somewhat a sulphurous taste, and verie vnpleasant sauour. The water [also] that runneth from the two small baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by west, and beneath the bridge; but the same that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill,² and after goeth into Auon about Bath bridge, where it loseth both force and tast, and is like vnto the rest. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie see how the water bubbleth vp from the springs. This is also to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to saie, at high noone and midnight; for at those two seasons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become so hot, that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while susteine their force and vehement working. They purge themselues, furthermore, from all such filth as the diseased doo leaue in each of them, wherefore we doe forbear the rash entrance into them at that time; and so much the rather, for that we would not, by contraction of anie new diseases, depart more greuouslie affected than we

¹ bordelles

² myl

came vnto the citie, which is in deed a thing that each one should regard. For these causes, [therefore,] they are commonlie shut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewise at midnight: at which times the keeper of them resorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth [(or should leaue)] free passage vnto such as come vnto them. Hitherto *Leland.*

Not good to enter into baths at all seasons.

What cost ¹ of late hath ¹ beene bestowed vpon these baths by diuerse of the nobilitie, gentrie, communalitie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet, as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garnished with fundrie curious peeces of workmanship, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the ease and benefit of such as resort vnto them; but also better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouision made for such pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But, notwithstanding all this, such is the generall estate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie spend while they will, and the poore beg whilest they list for their maintenance and diet so long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that ² there is verie good order ³ in that citie ³ for all degrees. But where shall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God dooth ⁴ giue these his [good] gifts freele [&] vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the custome vsed in these baths, what number of physicians dailie attend vpon those waters, for no man (especiallie such as be able to interteine them) dooth enter into these baths before he consult with the physician; also, what diet is to be obserued, what particular diseases are healed there, and to what end the commers thither doo drinke oftentimes of that medicinable liquor; but then I should exceed the limits of a description. Wherefore I passe it ouer to others, hoping

Much money has been laid out on the baths in Bath lately.

The rich spend while they will, and the poor beg while they please, for their living in Bath.

Lots of Physicians attend at the baths.

¹—¹ hath of late

² yt

³—³ there

⁴ do

I hope some one
 will finish the
 description of
 the treatment
 at Bath that Dr
 Turner began.

that some man yer long will vouchsafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke, Doctor Turner, hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the same. For hitherto I doo not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of those baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation ; much lesse of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of strangers [that resort vnto the same.]

'Of antiquities found.'

Chap. 24.²

The antiquities
 found here
 witness the
 ancient rule of

the Romans
 ouer our Island.
 [* p. 217]

I've got together
 a great many of
 these, and mean
 to engrave all
 the Emperors in
 my 'Chrono-
 logy,' if it's ever
 publisht.

HAuing taken³ some occasion to speake here and there in this treatise of antiquities, it shall not be amis to deale yet more, in this chapter, with some of them apart, & by themselves, whereby the secure authoritie of the Romans ouer this I⁴land maie in some cases more manifestlie appeare. For such was their possession of this Iland on this side of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their subiection, but all the whole countrie from east⁵ to west, from the Tine to the British sea, so that there was no region void of their gouernance : notwithstanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his issue, they did permit the successors of Lud and Cimbeline to reigne and rule amongst them, though vnder a certaine tribute, as else-where I haue declared. The cheefe cause that vrgeth me to speake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them together, intending (if euer my Chronologie shall happen to come abroad) to set downe the liuelie portraictures of euerie emperour ingrauen⁶ in the same : also the faces

¹—¹ Of the Antiquities, or auncient Coines found in England.

² Chap. 17, Book 2, in 1577 ed.—F. ³ take ⁵ East the ⁶ ingraued

of Pompeie, Crassus, the seuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerse other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpose, beside the monuments and liuelie images of fundrie philosophers, and kings of this Iland, since the time of Edward the Confessor. Whereof, although presentlie I want a few, yet I doo not doubt but to obtaine them all, if ¹friendship at the leastwise procured for ¹monie shall be able to preuaile. But as it hath doone hitherto, so the charges to be employed vpon these brassen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impression of ²that treatise: ² whereby it maie come to passe, that long trauell shall soone proue to be spent in vaine, and much cost come to verie small successe. Whereof yet I force not greatlie, sith by this means I haue reaped some commoditie vnto my selfe, by searching of the histories, which often minister store of examples readie to be vsed [in my function,] as occasion shall moue ³me. But to proceed with my purpose.

I've coins of
nearly all the
Emperors,

but the money
wanted to buy
'em 'll probably
stop the print-
ing of my
'Chronology.'

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of copper monie currant here in Britaine, as *Cæsar* confesseth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, [but I find not of what maner it was.] Hereto ⁴he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vsed in his time, in stead likewise of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke [(I saie)] to haue the certeine view of anie of these, so after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue such imperiall [monies or] coines, ⁵as for the paiment of their ⁶legions was daillie brought ouer vnto them. ⁷What coines the Romans had, it is easie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and siluer, as of copper, brasse, and other mettall, much like steele, almost of euerie

Cæsar's account
of the early
coins in Britain.

I've never had
the luck to get
sight of any.

Plenty of
Roman coins
and antiquities
have been found
here.

¹—¹ eyther friendship or
⁵ coine

²—² my booke
⁶ ye

³ compell
⁷ us

⁴ whereunto

I've already
stated (in Bk I.
Ch. 10, see p. 366
here), how many
Roman coins,
&c., have been
found in Kent

and St Alban's.

Most are dis-
covered in old
towns and
enclosures
where the
Roman Legions
wintered.

That very many
have come from
London and
York,

I can witness,

as I can of
Colchester.

emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it still represent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take heed how we yeeld our selues to the regiment of strangers. Of the store of these monies, found vpon the Kentish coast, I haue alreadie made mention in the description of Richborow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the British Albion, and there shewed also how simple fishermen haue had plentie of them, and that the¹ conies in making profers and holes to breed in, haue scraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In speaking also of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of these coines haue bene gathered there: wherefore I shall not need here to repeat the same againe. Howbeit this is certeine, that the most part of all these antiquities to be found within the land, & distant from the shore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decayed, or in inclosed burrowes, where their legions accustomed sometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What store hath beene seene of them in the citie of London, which they called Augusta, of the legion that sojourned there, & likewise in Yorke named also *Victrix*, of the legion *Victoria*, or *Altera Roma* (because of [the] beautie and fine building of the same), I my selfe can partlie witnesse, that haue seene, & often had of them, if better testimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colchester, where those of *Claudius*, *Adrian*, *Traian*, *Vespasian*, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: also of Cantorburie, Andredeschester² (now decayed), Rochester, then called Durobreuum, Winchester, and diuerse other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie sake I doo passe ouer in silence. Onlie the chiefe of all and where most are found in deed, is neere vnto Carleon and Cairgwent in

¹ the very

² Andreschester

Southwales, about Kencheſter, three miles about Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaſter, Bramdon, Dodington,¹ [where a ſpurre and peece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, beſides much of the ſaid Roman coine,] Bincheſter, Camalet, Lacoche vpon Auon, [and] Lincolne, Dorcheſter, Warwike, and Cheſter, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It ſeemeth that Ancaſter hath beene a great thing, for manie ſquare & colored pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by ſuch as dig and plow in the fields about the ſame. And amongſt theſe, one Vreſbie or Roſebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long ſince a ſtone like a trough, couered with another ſtone, wherein was great ſoiſon² of the aforeſaid coines. The like alſo was ſeene not yet fortie yeares agoe about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an huſbandman had far better lucke at Harleſton, two miles from the aforeſaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie³ of this coine, but alſo an huge braſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and ſet with all kind of coſtly ſtones: he tooke vp alſo chaines much like vnto beads of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might gheſſe anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he preſented to queene Katharine then lieng at Peterborow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agoe, though ſo defaced with mouldineſſe, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into peeces, much leſſe read them by reaſon of their blindneſſe.

In the beginning of the ſame kings daies alſo at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harneſſed with pure gold, and a great maſſie pomell with a croſſe hilt for a ſword of the ſame mettall, beſide ſtuds and harneſſe for ſpurs, and the huge long ſpurs of⁴

Roman coine,
&c., found at
Doddington,

Warwick,
Cheſter, &c.

Roman pave-
ments, &c.,
found at
Ancaſter.

A ploughman
ploughd up a
trough with
many coine.

In Henry VIII.'s
time a huſband-
man at
Harleſton found
coine, a braſſe
pot with a gold
helmet in it,
and chains,

which he gave
to Q. Katharine
at Peterborough,
and ſome old
rolles of parch-
ment.

Another man
ploughing at
Killeie found a
gold girdle, &c.

¹ Dodington, Cirnecheſter

² abundaunce

³ ſtore

⁴ alſo of

The Roman
boroughs or
camps in the
open

like stuffe, whereof [one] doctōr Ruthall got [a]part into his hands. The boroughs or buries, wherof I spake before, were certeine plots of ground, wherein the Romane souldiers did vse to lie when they kept in the open fields as chōsen places, from whence they might haue easie accessē vnto their aduerfaries, if anie outrage were wrought, or rebellion mooued against them. And as these were the vsuall aboads for those able legions that serued dailie in the wars, so had they other certeine habitations for the old and forworne souldiers, whereby diuerse cities grew in time to be replenished with Romane colonies, as Cairleon, Colchester, Chester, and such other, of which, Colchester bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein *A. Plautius* builded a temple vnto the goddesse of Victorie (after the departure of *Claudius*) which *Tacitus* calleth *Aram sempiternæ dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our British feruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they

were generally
walled with stone
walls,

[¹ p. 218]

and had gates,
as may be seen
by one near
Great Chester-
ford in Essex,

by others at
the Borow
Hills, south of
Burton, St
Neot's, Dover,
Rye, Romney,
&c.

Coins from
them are calld
Dwarfs' money,
Fairy groats, &c.

were generallie walled about with stone wals, and so large in compasse that some did containe thirtie, fourtie, three score, or eightie acres of ground ¹within their limits: they had also diuerse gates or ports vnto each of them, and of these, not a few remaine to be seene in our time, as one, for example, not far from great Chesterford in Essex, neere to the limits of Cambridgshire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compasse of the verie wall with the places where the gates stood is easie to be discerned: the like also is to be seene [at a place] within two miles south of Burton, called the Borow hils. In these, therefore, and such like, [and likewise at Euolsburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and fundrie other places, especiallie vpon the shore and coasts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romneie, Lid, &c:] is much of their coine also to be found, and some peeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hags pence, Feirie groats, Iewes monie, & by other foolish names not woorthie to be

remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vsed these holds as rescues for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like also did the Saxons against the Danes, by which occasions (and now and then by carieng of their stones to helpe forward other buildings neere at hand), manie of them were throwne downe and defaced, which otherwise might haue continued for a longer time, and so your honour¹ would saie, if you should happen to peruse the thickenesse and maner of building of those [said] wals and borowes. It is not long since a siluer saucer of verie ancient making was found neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbirie hils, and eared vp by a plough, but of such massie greatnesse, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I should stand in these things vntill I had said all that might be spoken of them, both by experience and testimonie of *Leland* in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerse, yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore ²so much onelie³ shall serue the turne for this time as⁴ I haue said alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, especiallie of coine, whereof I purposed chieflie to intreat.⁵

When the Romans left, their Camps were vs'd as holds for cattile, and destroyd, or they'd have lasted longer, as you, my Lord Cobham, know.

Sterbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

Of the coines of England.

Chap. 25.⁶

THe Saxon coine before the conquest is [in maner] vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I suppose that ⁶one shilling⁶ of siluer in those daies did counter-

I know nothing of the Saxon coins before the Conquest.

¹ selues

²⁻³ these

³ that

⁴ trente

⁵ This is chap. 20, Book 3, in 1577 ed.—F.

⁶ the shillinges

*Copper monie.**A Saxon
shilling worth
5d.**Spanish money
common here in
Q. Mary's days.**Silver restored.**Q. Elizabeth
turn'd the copper
and brass coin
into guns, and
made silver bits
of $\frac{1}{4}$ d., 1d., 1½d.,
3d., and the
groat, testern,
and shilling of
12d.**Old gold.*

peise our common ounce, though afterward it came to passe that it arose to twentie pence, and so continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who first brought it to three shillings and foure pence, & afterward our siluer coine vnto brasse & copper monies, by reason of those inestimable charges, which diuerse waies oppressed him.¹ [And, as I gather such obscure notice of the shilling which is called in Latine *Solidus*, so I read more manifestlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this also currant among the Saxons of our Ile, so well in gold as in siluer, at such time as 240 of their penies made vp a iust pound, five pence went to the shilling, and foure shillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpose. After the death of K. Henrie,] Edward his sonne began to restore the aforefaid coine againe vnto fine siluer: so queene Marie, his successeur, did continue his good purpose, notwithstanding that in hir time the Spanish monie was verie common in England, by reason of hir mariage with Philip, king of Spaine.

After hir decease the ladie Elizabeth, hir sister, and now our most gracious queene, ²souereigne and ³princessesse, did finish the matter wholie, vterly abolishing the vse of copper [and brasse] coine, and conuerting the same into [guns and great ordinance, she restored fundrie coines of] fine siluer, as peeces of halfe penie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat), of six pence vsuallie named the testone, and shilling of twelue pence, whereon she hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall superscription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained since the time of king Edward the third, or beene coined by such other princes as haue reigned since his deceasse, without [anie] abasing [or diminution] of the finesse of that mettall. Therof also we haue yet

¹ him, But as King^{2—3} and souereigne

remaining, the riall, the George noble, the Henrie riall, the salut, the angell, and their smaller peeces, as halfe or quarters, though these in my time are not so common to be seene. I haue also beheld the souereigne of twentie shillings, and the peece of thirtie shillings; I haue heard likewise of peeces of fortie shillings, three pounds, fise pounds, and ten pounds. But sith there were few of them coined, and those onelie at the commandement of¹ kings, yearelie to bestow where their maiesties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requisite that I should remember them here amongst our currant monies.²

Old gold coins
now left.

I've seen a 30s.
gold piece.

Gold coins from
£2 to £10 as
New Years' Gifts.

The new gold is taken for such as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the finesse of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be restored, for ought that I can see: and yet is it³ such as hath beene coined since by his successors princes of this realme, in value and goodnesse equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one dooth couet [chiefelie] to gather vp our old finer gold: so that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie seene in France, [Italie,] and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, [if you regard the paiments which they daile make in those kinds of our coine.] Our peeces now currant are of ten shillings, fise shillings, and two shillings and six pence onelie: and those of fundrie stamps and names, as halfe souereigns [(equall in weight with our currant shilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times so much siluer)], quarters of souereigns (otherwise called crownes), and halfe crownes: likewise angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels; or if there be anie other, in good sooth I know them not, as one scarfelie acquainted with any siluer at all, much lesse then (God it wot) with any store of gold.

New gold,

of less fine
metal,

tho' equal to
that of foreign
nations.

Our old fine
gold is more
plentiful abroad
than here.

Our present
Elizabethan
current money.

¹ of the

² coynes

³ it &

Henry VIII.
first coind the
silver shilling of
12d.

Edw. VI. the
silver 5s, 2s. 6d.,
and 6d. pieces.

Q. Elizabeth the
silver groat, 1d.,
2d., 4d.

Edw. I. first
coind round
silver pennies,
&c., instead of
square ones.

[? p. 219]

Foreign coins
current in Eng-
land : ducats,
crusadoes,
portigues,

French and
Flemish crowns.

Thalers, &c., are
exchang'd as
bullion.

The first currant shilling or [siluer] peeces of twelue pence [stamped within memorie,] were coined by K. Henrie the eight [in the twentieth yeare of his reigne,] [&] those of fīue shillings, and of two shillings and fix pence, & the halfe shilling by king Edward the sixt : but the od peeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princeesse queene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, ¹halfe penie ¹and farding, [in old time the greatest filuer monies if you respect their denominations onelie,] being more ancient than that I can well discusse of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the first in the eight yeare of his reigne, did first coine the penie and smallest peeces of filuer roundwise, which before were square, and woont to beare a double crosse with a crest, in such sort that the penie might easilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters : by which shift onelie the people ²came by [small monies, as] halfe pence and fardings, that otherwise were not stamped nor coined of set purpose.

Of forren coines we haue all³ the ducats, the fingle,⁴ double, [and the double double,] the crusadoes, with the long crosse and the short : the portigue, a peece verie solemnelie kept of diuerse, & yet oft times abased with washing, or⁵ absolutelie counterfeited : and finallie the French and Flemish crownes, onlie currant among vs, so long as they hold weight. But of siluer coines, [as the soules turnois, whereof ten make a shilling, as the franke dooth two shillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c : we haue] none at all : yet are the dalders, and such, often times brought ouer, but neuer-thelesse exchanged as bullion, according to their fineness and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by such as haue authoritie.

In old time we had fundrie mints in England, and those commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houses

¹ ob

² both

⁴ single and the

⁵ or else

before the conquest, where true dealing was commonlie supposed most of all to dwell: as at Ramseie, ¹S. Edmundsburie, ¹Canturburie, Glaffenburie, [Peterborow], and such like, fundrie exemplificats of the grants whereof are yet to be seene in writing, [especiallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: wherevnto it appeereth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue), that they either held it or had another in Stanford.] But after the Normans had once gotten the ²kingdome into their fingers, ³they trusted themselues best with the ouersight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerse of their owne, although they afterward permitted some for small peeces of siluer vnto fundrie of the houses aforefaid. In my time diuerse mints are suppressed, as Southwarke, Bristow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to saie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and perused, but not without great gaine to such as deale withall. There is also coinage of tin holden yearelie at two seuerall times, that is to saie, Midsummer and Michaelmas in the west countrie; which at the first hearing, I supposed to haue beene of monie of the said mettall, and granted by priuilege from some³ prince vnto the towns of Hailestone, Trurie, and Loftwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing so, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is allowed the ordinarie customes of that⁴ mettall: and such blocks of tin as haue passed the hands of his officers, are marked with an especiall stampe, whereby it is knowne that the custome due for the same hath ordinarilie beene answered. It should seeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while [the] Romans reigned here, Kingstone vpon Thames [(sometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vsuallie crowned)] was the chiefe place of their coinage for this

Old Mints in
England.

The Normans
kept these
Mints in their
own hands.

I've seen the
Mints at South-
warke, Bristol,
&c., suppress'd,
and all coinage
centred in the
Tower.

In Cornwall tin
is stamp'd twice
a year, when the
Prince's dues
are paid on it.

At Kingston-
upon-Thames
was probably a
Roman Mint.

¹—¹ Bury

²—² masterye

³ the

⁴ the

Coins, and silver
newly coind,

and plates
ready for coin-
ing, found at
Kington-upon-
Thames.

The Britons
us'd brass or
rings of iron for
money.

prouince. For in earing of the grōund about that towne in times past, and now of late (besides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue beene ripped vp [by plowes], and diuerse coines of brasse, filuer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots¹ found there) in the daies of cardinall Woolfeie, one such [huge] pot was discouered full as it were of new filuer latelie coined; another with plates of filuer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of filuer [and such broken stufte] redie (as it should appeere) to be melted into coinage,² whereof let this suffice to countenance out my coniecture. [Of coins current before the comming of the Romans I haue elsewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Essences did barter ware for ware, so the Britons vsed brasse or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in steed of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Bisantines also did, & the Achiui (as *Homer* writeth) who had (faith he) rough peeces of brasse and iron in steed of coine, wherewith they purchaseth their wines.]

¹ pots that haue beene

² coine

p. 337, l. 8 from foot, *sallow*. *Sauls*: m. A Sallow, Willow, or Withy tree. (And see *Sauls*.)—Cotgrave.

'Who that buyidith his hous al of *salwes*,
And priketh his blynde hors over the *falwes*,
And suffrith his wyf to go seken halwes,
Is worthy to ben honged on the galwes.'

Chaucer, *Prol. to Wife of Bath's Tale*, l. 655-8, ed. Morris, ii. 226.

p. 339, l. 10 from foot, Hull, *prov.* holly. Fr. *Houx*: m. The Hollie, Holme or Hulver-tree.—Cotgrave. See *Hulvyr*, and Mr Way's note, in *Promptorium*.

p. 339, l. 10 from foot, *so-fe*. Lat. *sorbus*. . . Colum[ella]. A tree hauing a streite stemme, and thinne barke, somewhat fattie, firste yelow, and after whitish; a leafe like a laurell, but thinner and lesse; a fruyte or beerie small & in facion of an egge. Some haue thought it our *Seruia* tree.—Cooper's *Thesaurus*, 1584.

Fr. *Corne*: f. The Service or Sorb-apple. *Cornier*: m. The Service tree, Sorb-apple tree.—Cotgrave.

Dr Prior says that *Service* and *Sorb* "have nothing to do with each other. See

Servius ad Virgil. Georg. iii. 379: 'Sorbium, cervisia vel potus ex fructu sorbi.' The *cornier* is quite a different tree, a 'cornel,' the fruit of which is eaten in Italy, and used to make sherbet in Persia. It is not uncommon in our shrubberies, with golden yellow blossoms in March. See *Meibomius de Cerevisia*."

In his excellent 'Popular Names of British Plants,' 1870, Dr Prior says: "SORB, *L. sorbus*, from *sorbeo*, drink down, in allusion to a beverage made from the fruit. (See *Service-Tree*.) A name formerly given to *Pyrus domestica*, L., at present to *Pyrus torminalis*, L.

"SERVICE-, or, as in Ph. Holland's Pliny more correctly spelt, SERVICE-TREE, from *L. cervisia*, its fruit having from ancient times been used for making a fermented liquor, a kind of beer:

'Et pocula læti

Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis.'—Virg. Georg. iii. 379.

Diefenbach remarks: (Or. Eur. 102), 'bisweilen bedeutet *cervisia* einen nicht aus Getreide gebrauten Trank;' and Evelyn tells us in his *Sylva* (ch. xv.), that 'ale and beer brewed with these berries, being ripe, is an incomparable drink.' The *Cerevisia* of the ancients was made from malt, and took its name, we are told by Isidore of Seville, from *Ceres*, *Cereris*, but this has come to be used in a secondary sense without regard to its etymological meaning, just as in *Balm-tea* we use *tea* in the sense of an infusion, without regard to its being properly the name of a different plant, *Pyrus domestica*, Sm.

"SERVICE, WILD-, the rowan tree, *Pyrus aucuparia*, Gärt. [See Rowan.]

"QUICKEN, or QUICK-BEAM, or WICKEN, a tree ever moving, A.S. *cwic-beam*, from *cwic*, alive, and *beam* tree, translated in Ælfric's glossary 'tremulus,' a name applied by him to the aspen, but which has been transferred to this, the wild-service or roan tree, probably through some confusion between *cwic* and *wice*, &c., a witch, and the roan being regarded as a preservative against witch-craft. See ROAN. *Wicker* is merely a different spelling of the same word. *Whick* is given in Levins's *Manipulus* as meaning 'alive', 'vivus'. *Pyrus aucuparia*, L."

p. 352. *Doctor Turner*. 'A Booke of the natures and properties / as well of the bathes in England as of other bathes in Germanye and Italye / very necessarye for all sycke persones that can not be healed without the helpe of natural bathes / lately ouersene and enlarged by william Turner Doctor of Physick, God saue the Quene. Imprinted at Collen . . . M. D. LXVIII . . . *, 4 leaves: B—D 5 in sizes.' 'Following the title is the "Preface of the Author vnto his wellbeloued neighbours of bath Bristow / Wellis / Winsam / and Charde," dated 10 March 1557-8, from Basle.'—W. C. Hazlitt—*Collections and Notes*, 1876. Turner's *Herball*, 1568, and *homish apothecarye*, are capital books, and worth reprinting.

p. 358, *Richborow*. Harrison, Bk I., cap. 10, p. 29: 'Of such Ilands as are to Rutupium. be seene vpon the coast of Britaine.' p. 30, col. 2, l. 49: "Sometime *Rutupium* or (as Beda calleth it) *Reptacster*, stood also in this Iland; but now, thorough alteration of the chanell of the *Dour*, it is shut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in these daies 'Richborow,' and, as it should seeme, builded vpon an indifferent soile or high ground. The large bricke also yet to be seene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old British workmanship. But as time decaieth all things, so *Rutupium*, named *Ruptimuth*, is now become desolate, and out of the dust thereof, Sandwich producted, which standeth a full mile from the place where *Reptacster* stood. The old writers affirme, how *Arthur & Mordred* fought one notable battell here, wherin *Gwallon*

or *Gawan* was slaine ; at which time the said rebell came against his souereigne with 70000 Picts, Scots, Irish, Norwegiens, &c., and with *Ethelbert* the first christian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitberto beene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie peeces of siluer and gold, so well as of brasse, copper, and other mettall, haue often beene shewed unto me.

"It should appeere in like sort, that of this place, all the whole coast of Kent therabout was called *Littus Rutupinum*, which some doo not a little confirme by these words of *Lucane*, to be read in his sixt booke, soone after the beginning :

*Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupinaque littora seruent,
Vnda Calidonio fallit turbata Britannos.*

The last verse
of one couple
and first of an
other.

Or when the wandering seas
and Kentish coasts doo worke,
And Calidons of British bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like sort by the latter, the coast ncere *Andredenwald*, which in time past was called *Littus Calidonium*, of that wood or forrest, as *Leland* also confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouse in these by-matters, so in returning againe to my purpose, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I must needs passe by Selesey, which sometime (as it should seeme) hath beene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or *Peninsula* wherein the cheefe see of the bishop of Chichester was holden by the space of three hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie bishops."

I can't find the fisherman and coney passages.

CH.
HW

1



